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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 66.

NALANDA AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC
MATERIAL

BY
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PREFACE

OF all Buddhist sites excavated by the Archaeological Survey Nālanda has proved the most prolific as regards inscriptions. Although the results of excavation are noticed year by year in the Annual Reports it was unfortunate that no complete account was prepared before Mr. Page the officer responsible for the bulk of the excavation retired from the Survey in 1932. To remedy this defect so far as the numerous seals, copper plates and stone inscriptions are concerned the work was happily entrusted to the then Government Epigraphist, Dr. Harananda Sastri who brought to bear on this task his ripe scholarship and his intimate knowledge of Nālanda. Dr. Sastri however, retired in 1933 before he could give finishing touches to his work and this task fell on his successor Dr. Chakravarti who had necessarily to verify all the readings from the original material at Nālanda, in course of which considerable difference of readings were brought out. Minor emendations have been made in Dr. Sastri's text but wherever it was felt necessary the points of difference are indicated in footnotes by Dr. Chakravarti as Editor.

K. N. DIKSHU

15th July, 1939

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NALANDA AND ITS EPICRAPHIC MATERIAL

INTRODUCTION

Prefatory remarks.—This Memoir deals particularly with the epigraphical material discovered at Nalanda since the excavations began in 1916. It also notices in general the sculptures which have been recovered from the site during the same period. As I was conducting the exploration of the site in 1920-21 it is indeed gratifying to me to get an opportunity to describe the antiquities from Nalanda. The late Dr. Spooner¹ started the excavation of this important site in 1916 from funds contributed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland but since 1917 the work has been financed by the Government of India and conducted under the supervision of the Archaeological Superintendent at Patna. Mr. A. M. Broadley² excavated the site in the seventies and gave an account of his work as well as of the remains he noticed on the site and around it in his book named *Remains of Nalanda Monasteries at Bargaon* (Calcutta 1872). No part of the site can be considered to have been completely examined as yet though several monastic buildings and *Stupas* have now been exposed fully.

Nalanda figures in ancient literature of about the 4th or 5th century B.C. no doubt, but we have not been able so far to get at any relic from the site which can be definitely assigned to an epoch prior to that of the Imperial Guptas.

That Nalanda is the same ancient seat of Buddhist learning which the great Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang has described so vividly in his itinerary and where he spent the major portion of his stay in India does not require any demonstration now. The situation exactly corresponds with the description given by the pilgrims from abroad. The excavations have yielded hundreds nay thousands of ancient relics which bear the name Nalanda. All of them can not be extraneous. The identification of Nalanda based as it is on the overwhelming evidence of these antiquities must now be treated as settled.

Situation.—Nalanda lies some seven miles to the South west of Bahār Sharif, the headquarters of the sub division of the same name in the Patna District of Bihar. Bihar Sharif was first known as Bihar evidently on account of the large number of the *viharas* or monasteries which stood in and around it. The remains of an old fort covering some 312 acres of land which we see here have not been excavated yet, but it is not unlikely that they contain the ruins of a *vihara* probably Uddandapuri Mahavihara itself which on account of the Tantric ideas inculcated there seems to have become very popular about the 7th and the 8th century after Christ. The Otantapuri of the *Fag Sam Jan Zang*³

¹ *Ann. of Progress Report Eastern Circle*, 4 vol. S. May 1914, 16, p. 34.

² Ed. S. C. Das Index p. 61.

³ The identification of Bargaon with Vikaraganga, which has been accepted by some writers, should be abandoned as erroneous. See infra p. 4.

must be traced to this locality for the great shrine of that name stood in the neighbourhood of Nalanda. This *boon* takes *stanto* in the sense of soaring on high in which case the name might be derived from the Sanskrit *vilayana* and *yanta* meaning going up or flying. On account of the high impositions (*prasa* *das*) and of the sublime teachings preached there this town (*pari*) could well be so called. There is no wonder if the *Uddiyanatantra* originated here.¹ The brass image inscription discovered in the town of Bihar which reads

Om deyadharm[o] yom sri Narayanapaladeva rajye

Samat oī sri Uddandapura vastavya Ranala

Uchayvira Tharukasya

would show that the name of the town was *Uddandapura*. *Uddandapuri* (or "puri") was the earlier town and its citadel must have been in existence when the inscribed pillar of Skandagupta which has been removed to the Patna Museum stood there. But for the importance of the town the pillar would not have been erected there. Apparently it had become the stronghold of the *Vajriyanists* who held the day in the declining period of Buddhism in India. This town seems to have superseded Pataliputra in importance during the reign of the Palas when it became the capital of Magadha. Its reputation attracted the adventurer Muhammad son of Bakhtyar Khilji who razed it to the ground and put to sword not only the high and low of this place but the inhabitants of the adjoining Nalanda as well. Tradition would make Rohtas as the seat of Government at that time and we know that when the said adventurer marched into the fort he found nothing there but a *vikara* or monastery. Minhaj-i-Suaj gives an amusing account of the fall of this ancient seat of learning in his *Tubakat-i-Akbar*.² Muhammad is said to have gone to the gate of the fort of Bihar with only two hundred horsemen and started the fight by taking the enemies unawares. With great vigour and audacity he rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into his hands. Most of the inhabitants with shaven heads were put to death. Numberless books found there were all burnt to ashes. Large *vikaras* stood not only at Uddandapura but at Nalanda, Yisovumapura, the modern Ghosrawān and several other adjacent places. In consequence of these monasteries the whole tract was known as *Vikara*. As shown by the *An Akbari* there was a separate *Subah* of Bihar during the reign of Akbar which contained 46 *muhals* and had an area of 952,98 *bighas* of land yielding the revenue of 8,31,96,390 *dams*. This *Subah* of Bihar contained besides Bihar the *Sircas* of Munghir, Champarni, Hajipur, Saran, Firoz and Rohtas. In the beginning of the British rule the *Subah* of Bihar was united with that of Bengal both being put under one Government. The *Subah* or District of Bihar (or the tract round the ancient Uddandapuri) was divided into *Sub* Patna and *Sub* Gaya. In 1864 the *paraganas* of Bihar and Rohtas were detached from Gaya and together with three more *paraganas* were joined into one subdivision within the jurisdiction of the *Subah* or district of Patna.

[1] It is printed to be located in the Swat. See *Int. H. et Quart.* Vol. VI pp. 380 ff.—[2]

[2] *Int. H. et Quart.* p. 110.

[3] *Int. H. et Quart.* p. 110. *Int. H. et Quart.* p. 110. *Int. H. et Quart.* p. 110. *Int. H. et Quart.* p. 110.

The old *Sūbah* of Bihar has now ceased to exist. The affix *Sharif* distinguishes this town from other Bihars and seems to have been added out of reverence to the Musalman Saint *Shih Shurī ud dīn Maḥmūd* who lies entombed on the south of the town. In 1911 a new province including Chutia Nagpur was formed and the name of Bihar given to it. The seat of Government was again brought to the place where the glorious old Pataliputra once stood. From a monastery Bihar rose to a *Sūbah* and from *Sūbah* it has become a large province of some 42,361 square miles with a population of more than three crores of inhabitants.

Name of Nalanda and its etymology—Nalanda must be a very old name for it was current at the time of the Jain Jambhaka Mahavira and of Gautama Buddha i.e. about the sixth century B.C. To call it Naland, Nalanda or Nalandra is certainly a mistake¹. The designation ends in long *a* and the forms *Nalanda* or *Nalandīyam*² (*loc. sing.*) occurring in the Jain and Buddhist books and inscriptions written in Sanskrit noticed in the sequel would clearly show that it was used in the feminine gender.

It may be stated here in passing that the name Nalanda (ending in short *a*) current in Ceylon where it is applied to a fort built by Paśukamalāhu about 1100 A.D. and to the Buddhist shrine attached thereto is different from this Nalanda which ends in long *a*. The Sinhalese word *landa* signifies a high ground with low jungle and there are numerous place names in Ceylon ending in this word the first member of the compound being invariably the name of a tree. *Nā* in Nalanda means iron wood tree and the name might be interpreted as a high ground with low jungle of iron wood trees³. There might have been a village of this name after which the fortress and the shrine were designated. The shrine it is interesting to note is of Indian style as will be shown by the accompanying illustration (Pl. Ia). I inspected the shrine in December 1933⁴. The remains of what appeared to be a *Stupa* and several images were seen lying scattered on the site and placed in the niches of the temple as seen in the accompanying photograph. Some of the images are of the Buddha and the rest are Mahayanistic in character. This Nalanda shrine might have been built about the ninth century when Mahayanism seems to have predominated in Ceylon⁵.

The etymology of the name is uncertain. Different derivations have been proposed. The one given by Hsuan Tsang⁶ is evidently an instance of *Nidāna*

¹ Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India* 1908, p. 37. Taranath and *The Life of Aśoka* from Tibetan and Chinese sources by V. Walleser (Reprint from *Asiatic Museum Berlin Annuaire* Vol. III, Leipzig) pp. 1 etc. *Buddhist Pictorial* Vol. II, p. 167.

² *Dharmapala* I, p. 1. Nalanda copper plate, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, etc.

³ [The spelling of the name as found in the Chinese text is *Nalanda* (cf. P. T. Sch. 0, p. 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.]

⁴ *Buddhist Pictorial* Vol. II, p. 167. The temple is now situated in London where it has assumed the role of the residence of the Buddhist (See *Vijaya* and *Buddhist* (1904) Ed. by Mrs. E. B. Davis, p. 151).

gatha or popular etymology i.e. an endeavour to explain the name by a story. According to it the word Nalanda is derived from *Na* *clan* *da* and means 'no end in gifts or charity without intermission'. The story which Hsuan Tsang gives to explain the term is this: 'Tathagata in old days lived here as a great Bodhisattva. He was a king who had established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for his subjects he took delight in continually relieving them and in remembrance of that virtue the locality was named Nalanda'.¹ According to I T'ing the place was named after the Naga Nanda.² One might believe in the assimilation of *na* and *na* and allow the insertion of *l* for euphony. But how to explain the final *a* if this was the origin? I am of the opinion that the locality was so called on account of the *nalas* or lotus stalks in which it abounded. Even now Nalanda has many lotus ponds which yield lotus stalks in great abundance and in the season time a number of people are seen daily taking out the *nalas* or lotus stalks for sale in the market. I saw this very often during my stay at Nalanda. In that case the name would signify 'the giver of lotus stalks' and would be quite appropriate.

Bargaon—Close to the site of Nalanda there is a village by the name of Bargaon. Till recently the railway station leading to the site was called Bargaon after this village and I am glad that my suggestion to call it by the name of Nalanda was approved by the authorities concerned and the Railway station itself began to be called Nalanda as it ought to be. Bargaon is a fairly old name for it was current in the 16th Century as would be evidenced by the following quotations from the *Pravidesacharyaparipat* written by Pandit Hamsasoma in the year 1605 of the Vikrami era (=1608 A.D.) and the *Samitasahitratirtha-mala* composed by Pandit Vijayasagara a Tapagachchha monk about the Vikrami samvat 1700 (i.e. 1623 A.D.). The former says—

Nalanda pudar chanda charmanu samjar

Harida baharavasthiti to Badagama lakejar

Sakari prasada tiham achchhari Jina bimbha namajar

i.e. Nalanda (was) a suburb (of Rajagriha) where we hear Mahavira spent fourteen rainy seasons. Now it is called Badagama. There are sixteen temples where Jina images are worshipped. The latter gives—

Bahari Nalanda pado

Samaya tassa punja parado

Tira chanda raka charmanu

Hauda Badagama nirasa

i.e. Outside (of Rajagriha) there is the pado³ (suburb or hamlet) named Nalanda. Imagine its pious fame where Vira (i.e. the great Jina Mahavira) resided for fourteen *charmanus* or rainy seasons. Now it is known as Badagama (Bugion). These quotations would show that at the time when the above mentioned pilgrims came here the locality was called *Badagama* and not *Nalanda*. Nalanda was deserted and fell into ruins after the Muslim invasion.

¹ Loc. Cit.

² J. J. A. S. N. S. XIII 1891 p. 1. [According to Hsuan Tsang it was so called after Naga Nalanda. See B. A. I. loc. cit. Vol. II p. 16.—E.]

³ *Pa* (pru) according to B. H. W. L. a collection of terms is a country, village or hamlet.

i.e., about 1200 A.D. The name was current during the time of the later Palas¹ as is evidenced by the colophons of several manuscripts. The village of Bargaon continued to be the place of pilgrimage. The Hindus would visit it for its Suraj Kund and the Jains, on account of its being the birth place of Gotama Indrabhuta a chief disciple of Mahavira. The Suraj Kund is a tank which is sacred to the Sun god. The water in it is believed to possess healing properties. In the evening a beautiful reflection of the setting sun is seen in it. It is incorrect to say as some writers have done that the name of Bargaon is modern². The word is a *vaidhara* of the Sanskrit term *Vatagrama* which is an old name. The change of *Vatagrama* into Bargaon is an ordinary one. Apparently the locality was so named after some prominent banyan tree or trees which stood on it³.

Sarichak.—In connection with Nalanda it will not be out of place to make a mention of Sarichak a hamlet of Bargaon lying close by towards the south west of it. The fragments of sculptures which have been found here would indicate that ancient relics are lying hidden in the debris and that the locality is an old one. The name Sauchak reminds us of Sariputra the right hand disciple of the Buddha and I feel rather inclined to identify the locality with the birth place of that great Buddhist monk of yore. That Sariputra was born at a place not far off from Nalanda does not stand in need of demonstration. Both Fa Hien and Hsuan Tsang agree in saying that his birth place lay somewhere near Nalanda. According to Fa Hien he was born at Kulika and according to Hsuan Tsang at Kalapinaka⁴. The latter says 'South east from the spot where Bimbisara raja met Buddha at a distance of about 20 li, we come to the town of Kalapinaka (Lia lo pi na-kia). In this town is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka raja. This is the place where Sariputra the venerable one was born. The well of the place still exists. By the side of the place is a *stupa*. This is where the venerable one obtained nirvana the relics of his body therefore are enshrined therein. Mudgalaputra or Mahanagga the left hand disciple of the Master according to the same authority was born at the village of *Kulika* (Kulikas) lying 8 or 9 li i.e. about 1½ miles to the south west of Nalanda⁵. The spot where this great monk reached nirvana was marked by a *stupa* in which the remains of his body were enshrined. The situation of *Kulika* would correspond to the present Jagdishpur and Cunningham was probably right in locating the birth place of Mudgalaputra near it. Both of these celebrities namely Sariputra and Mudgalaputra it would appear from the account given by the said pilgrims were born within the ancient limits of the old Nalanda. The first component part of the name *Sarichak* might be a reminiscence of the name of the venerable monk's mother

¹ R. D. Banerjee *The Pala of Bengal* (Memoirs A. S. E. Vol. V) pp. 93, 10.

² The 1st D. S. Irool and V. Smith are evidently wrong in treating Bargaon as a modern name. V. S. at (P. 1) in *Story of India* p. 317, seems to have followed Birt (J. R. A. S. 1909 p. 440).

In the fourth edition (p. 237) this view has been adopted but the name Bargaon is wrongly considered to be modern. *The Imperial Gazetteer* (Vol. VI p. 420) also repeats this statement. I have, however, acquired correction. Broadly speaking a somewhat derogatory effect. Bargaon has been cleared beyond the possibility of a doubt with the *Vishay* area on the outskirts of which more than 1000 years ago flourished the great Vaidika Monastery the most magnificent and most celebrated seat of Buddhist learning in the world which has been adopted by some of the archaeological officers should also be rejected as wrong.

⁴ Beal *Records of the Western World* Vol. II, p. 177.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 15.

Sri Kāṭipinaka according to Hsuan Tsung lay about 4 miles to the south east of Nalanda about half way between Nalanda and Indrasila gūha. The monk was extremely fond of his mother. In his last days finding that his end was approaching he came to his mother and died in her lap. The *Thera gāthā* describes the pathetic story of his death and the heart rending lamentations of Sri the heretic mother of the great *thūra*.

The *Mahāsūlāssana Sūtra*¹ says that when the Tathagata was at Jetavana he thought the *thūra* Śāriputta who was born at Nalagrama² has died on the day of the full moon in the month of Kārtika in that very village. Nalagrama means the village of *nalas* or lotus stalks and I think would be similar to Nalanda which according to the derivation which I have just proposed means the giver of *nalas* or lotus stalks. If my assumption is correct Nalagrama would be another designation of Nalanda. In the *Mahāvastu* the birth place of Śāriputta is called Nālandagrama³ and this would convincingly show that these two names Nalagrama and Nālandagrama were interchangeable—*grama* being only a derivative of *gāma*. This surmise is supported by the account of Taranātha given in his history of Buddhism. In it he says⁴ It was Nalanda which was formerly the birth place of the venerable Śāriputta and it was also the place where he finally vanished from existence with 80 000 Arhats. In the meanwhile the Brahmana village became deserted and there remained the only Chaitya of the venerable Śāriputta to which King Asoka had made large offerings and built a great Buddha temple. When later on the first 500 Mahayana *bhīkṣus* counselled together and came to know that they had delivered the Mahayana teaching at the place of Śāriputta they took it to be a sign that the teachings would spread widely but when they further learnt that the same was also the place of Maudgalyāyana, they took it to be a sign that the teaching would be very powerful but the teaching did not prosper very well. Both the Brahmana brothers and the teachers erected 8 Viharas and placed there the works of the whole Mahayana teaching. Thus we see that the first founder of Nalanda Vihara was Asoka the developers of the place of learning were the 500 Ācharyas. Mudgaragomin and his brother the next enlarger was Rāhulabhadra and the greatest expander was Nāgārjuna.

The account given by Taranātha would further indicate that Nalanda must have played a prominent part in the propagation of Mahayana. This is also proved by the *Nīlayasāṅgī* which is noticed below. Further it gives the interesting information that the first *vihāra* at Nalanda was established by Asoka the Great.

Padmasambhava and Nalanda—The district Gazetteer of Patna records a tradition that Padmasambhava the founder of Lamaism went to Tibet from Nalanda at the invitation of the Tibetan King in 747 A.C. Padmasambhava was the disciple of Śāntisīdha the Zābahtsho of the Chronicles of Ladakh.

¹ B. E. A. p. 178

² *Pras. Javan. Ind. Int. Hist. p. 100* (ed. Nalagrama with Burgeo and would thus support my hypothesis)

³ *Thera. Wat. Ser. On. J. an. C. I. ang. Vol. II p. 1*

⁴ *H. m. of Poudh. m. Tur. n. th.* (True. lated from G. rman. ers on of A. Sci. officer with the date on) I. H. Q. Vol. 3 pp. 100 f.

who was an *acharya* at Nalanda. According to Dr. Francke's account¹ of the *Chronicles* it was King Khrisondebtzan (c. 755-97 A.C.) who invited Padmasambhava (Padma hbyungnas) from Ogyan (Udyana) and not from Nalanda. The temple of Otantran is mentioned soon after this statement and

Otantran is the same as Otantapur or Odantapur near Nalanda. The *Pag Sam Jon Zang* places the great shrine of Otantapur in the neighbourhood of Nalanda. Udyana the modern Swat might have been the place where Padmasambhava prosecuted his studies and rose to fame. Like Viradeva of the Ghosrawan inscription he might have gone towards Nalanda which was at the height of its glory in his days. Nothing definite is known about the history of this teacher. From what Dr. Francke has stated it would appear that he was connected with Mandi the Zikhor of the Tibetans which is a small hill State in the Punjab particularly noted for its *tiika* named Rawalsar. The Tibetans believe that the spirit of Padmasambhava still dwells in the tree on the small floating island of the lake at Rawalsar and many pilgrims are seen going there from Tibet to worship it. Whether this teacher originally belonged to Uandi or Swat or Orissa is sometimes believed it seems that the following ditty records an historical fact—

The deputy of the conqueror (Buddha) the holy Zibantshe (Santira kshita)

And the superior master of meditations the ascetic Padma hbyun (Padmasambhava),

Kamalahti (Kamalastha) the crest ornament of the wise

And Khrisondebtzan of surpassing thoughts

Through these four like sunrise in the dark country of Tibet

The light of the holy religion spread as far as the frontiers

These holy men of unchanging kindness

All Tibetans will for ever reverently salute

And Nalanda rightly described as the abode of all sacred lore was the source from which this light of the holy religion went there.

Tibetan accounts of Nalanda—The Tibetan accounts tell us that Nalanda was a university and had a grand library of its own. It was located at Dharmaganj (Piety Mart) and consisted of three great buildings called Purnasagar, Ratnodadhi and Ratnaramjaka. In Ratnodadhi which was unstoned there were the sacred scripts called *Propoparamita sutra* and Tantric works such as *Sarvajaguhya* etc. After the Turusila raiders had made incursions in Nalanda the temples and *Chaturas* there were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra. Soon after this Kukutsiddhi minister of the king of Magadha erected a temple at Nalanda and while a religious sermon was being delivered there two very indigent Thruhka mendicants appeared. Some mighty young novice monks in disdain threw washing water on them. This made them very angry. After propitiating the sun for 12 years they performed a *yopa* fire sacrifice and threw

¹ *Int. Quart. of Tibet* by A. H. Francke (Arch. Survey of Ind. & New Imperial Series) Vol. L. Pt. II pp. 56 and 187.
Loc. cit. Pt. I pp. 12 f. and Pt. II p. 87.

living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples etc. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnodadhi. It is however, said that many of the Buddhist scriptures were saved by water which leaked through the sacred volumes of *Pranaparamita sutra* and *Tantra* ¹

This account I think would lead one to surmise that Nalanda had to suffer from fire put by anti-Buddhists and that it was a place of sun worship. That there was a conflagration we also infer from the nature of the remains unearthed from the Site No. 1 and from the evidence of the stone inscription of Baladitya which clearly speaks of this *ayudhatu* ². The pond at Baragaon which is sacred to the sun deity is a proof of the locality being known for the worship of the solar deity. Whether the Site No. 1 or the Patharghatta was the Ratnodadhi we cannot say. The words *ud-dhi* and *sagan* would suggest that the buildings were erected near some large lakes of Nalanda. It would further indicate that Nalanda was also the centre of *Tantric* learning like the adjoining Otantapuri.

Chinese accounts of Nalanda—About the sixth Century after Christ the reputation of Nalanda as an international centre of Buddhist culture had reached China. Wu ti or Hsiao the first Living emperor of China an ardent Buddhist sent a mission to Nalanda in 529 (A. C.) to collect Mahayana texts and to secure the services of a competent scholar to translate them. It was owing to this fame of Nalanda that famous pilgrims like I-t' Hien and Hsuan Tsang and I Tsing came to it and the two latter stayed here and studied Sanskrit and Buddhist literature for a number of years. The vivid account of Nalanda these pilgrims have given are noticed in the sequel. In compliance with the wishes of the Chinese Emperor the King of Magadha placed the services of Paramartha ³ the learned monk at the disposal of the mission and he not only accompanied the mission on its sojourn in India but went to China with it taking the large collection of manuscripts he had translated.

Nalanda in Jaina Literature—References to Nalanda in epigraphical records will be noticed below in detail. Here I would like to give literary references only. Both in the Jaina and the Buddhist literature of old Nalanda has figured several times. From the accounts found therein it would appear that Nalanda was a prosperous *balurika* or suburb of Rajagriha about the 6th century before Christ. Mahavirasvami the 24th Jina spent not less than fourteen *chaturmasas* or rainy seasons here and this could have happened only when Nalanda was a very comfortable place where people could conveniently go and attend religious congregations and sermons delivered by the teacher on such occasions.

The following quotations from the *Sutralanga* and other works will give us an idea of the prosperity of Nalanda some centuries before Christ. The extract from the *Sutralanga* is only a part of the chapter which is named after Nalanda itself ⁴.

¹ See Chandra Indrachandran's *A History of India* Vol. I, pp. 515-16.

² See *J. P. A. S. B. (N. S.)* Vol. IX, p. 198.

³ See *Early History of India* (3rd ed.) p. 333.

⁴ See *U. Lecture* 7th.

Tenam kalenam tenam samaenam Rayagih namam nayare hottha siddhi-
pphala-samiddhe unnao java pudurthe tassanam Rayagihassa nayarassa bahyo
uttarapuratthime Isibhaya etthanam Nalanda namam bahriya hottha anega
bhavanassayusanuvitho juro padirwa (1)

Tuttham Nalandae bahriyae Leve niman gahavar hottha addhe dute
ratte vitthano nigda bhavana saara usano jura vuhonunni bahudhana bahu
jayarūvayale aaga-paaga sampaulle ratla divo poura bharta pane bahudasa
dasa-go mahisa-gaveloga-ppabhue bahu janassa uparibhuyor hottha (2)

Sevam Leve namam gahavar samano vasa-jara hottha abhaya Jiragae jara
vharas naga-gathe pavayane nissamhe ukkamile nanna dulle buddhotthe gahu
yathe putthiyatthe vinutthiyatthe abhigahiyatthe atthimiyaga pama amiraya ratte ayam
ansa niggamthe pavayane ayam atthe ayam paramatthe sese anatthe usiya-phulhe
apparayadure vattani tenappavase chandusattila neuddatta purara mamsam
padipunnam posaham samam anappalemane samane niggamthe tohuvhe iam
esanijjham usanapanam kharasas menam padidakkhamani bahubham siladea
yaguna varamma pachchavaravana posanavasecham appanam bhure mane evam
chanam vikharas (3)

Tassanam Lemissa gahavassa Nalandae bahriyae uttarapuratthi me diribhas
etthanam Sesad divya namam udaga sala hottha anega khambha sayo samuvitho
pasadya jaro pudirwa tissenam Sesa davigoe udagi salve uttara puratthime
diribhar etthanam Hatthi jame namma vinasamde hottha kraphe vanna vinasam
dassa (4)

Hermann Jacobi has thus translated it.¹ At that time at that period
there was a town of the name Rajagriha it was rich happy thriving etc. Out-
side of Rajagriha in a north eastern direction there was the suburb Nalanda it
contained many hundreds of buildings etc (1) In that suburb Nalanda there was
a house holder called Lepa, he was prosperous famous rich in high and large houses
beds seats vehicles and chariots abounding in riches gold and silver possessed
of useful and necessary things wasting plenty of food and drink owning many
male and female slaves cows buffalos and sheep and inferior to nobody (2)

This householder Lepa a follower of the Sramanas comprehended (the
doctrine of) living beings and things without life etc (3)

This householder Lepa possessed in a north eastern direction from
the suburb Nalanda a bathing-hall called Seshadravya it contained many
hundreds of pillars was beautiful etc. In a north eastern direction from this
bathing hall Seshadravya there was a park called Hastivama (Description of
the park²) (4)

The *Kalpavṛta* of Bhadrabahu³ similarly speaks of Nalanda as a *bokurika*
of Rajagriha where Mahavira spent fourteen chaturmasas it says —

Tenam kalenam tenam samaenam samane Bhagoram Mahavire Atthiyaggoma
nisea padhamam andaravasom vasa vasam uvugae Champam cha Pitthi Chan pam
chu nisee tao amaramase vasa vasam uvugae Vesalin nagarim Vanayagumam cha

S B F Vol. V. pp. 419-99

The typical description of important town given in the *Anguttara Sutta*

² Hermann Jacobi's *Kalpavṛta* p. 64 Leipzig 1890 edition

*nānā ducālusa amittāvāse vāsā-vāsam uvāga, Rājagaham nagam Nālandam cha
bhūtiyam nīlāc chakātsu antarināse vāsa vāsam uvāga, cha Mahāvijje dū Bhad-
dantī egam Alabhiyāye egam Pāṇḍyabhūmīy. egam Sāvattihī egom Pāvāe magghanāe
Hathupālāso roṇaṃ rojṇābhāe apācchumam antarāvāsam vāsā-vāsam uvāga*

The Jain works *Pūrvadeśacharyapariṇīti* and *Samśāsakūṭa-tīrthamālī* quoted above would also testify to the former prosperity of Nālandā. The *Samśāsakūṭa-tīrthamālī* gives an exaggerated number of the residents of Nālandā in the following stanza —

*Āhara-vasāhīn Srenakavāra
Sādhī-kūla-kāṇḍibōra I
Buddha-dēhara chasō-pratimī
Navāhuc Bodanī gūṇanā*

According to this authority there were some hundred Jaina shrines at Nālandā but the number of Buddhist images was countless.¹

If Nālandā was a prosperous *pālā* or suburb of Rājagṛha and had such a large number of houses as stated by these authorities we can well imagine the extent and prosperity of the old Rājagṛha in earlier days. The distance between Rājagṛha and Nālandā nowadays is not less than seven miles.

Nālandā in Buddhist Literature—The earliest mention of Nālandā in Buddhist literature I know of, is in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (*Dighnikāya*). In the former we find —

*Attha kho Bhagavā Ambalatthakūyom gathābhūmantum vharitva ayaśmantam
Araṇḍam āmantesi, "Iyēva 'Araṇḍa yena Nālandā ten' upasamā-
nussamāsi."*

*"Evam bhante" ti kho āyasiṇā Araṇḍa Bhagavato paricchosasi. Attha kho
Bhagavā mahāpāṇḍu saṅghesu saddhām yena Nālandā tad avasari.
Tatra sudam Bhagavō Nālandāyām vharati Pāvārikāmbanā"*²

In the latter we find —

*Evam me sutam Ekam samayam Bhagavō anturā cha Rājagaham anturā cha
Nālandam addhāna-magga-patipanno hoti mahatā bhikkhu-saṅghena
saddhā pañchanattehi bhikkhu-satthe. Suppiyō pi kho paribbajhō
anturā ca Rājagaham anturā ca Nālandam addhāna-magga-patipanno
hoti saddhām antevassarā Brahmaḍatt-na māraṇa. Tatra sudam
Suppiyo paribbajhō anekā pariyūyena Bodhissasā amānam bhāsati
Dhammassa amānam bhāsati Saṅghassa amānam bhāsati, Suppiyassa
pina paribbajhāssa anā vāso Brahmadatto mānaso oneka-pariyā-
yena Buddhassa vānam bhāsati Dhammassa vānam bhāsati Saṅghassa
vānam bhāsati. Iti ha ti ubho āchariyantvāsi aññamaññassa su
vipassanā-kavādā Bhagavontam piṭṭho piṭṭho anubaddhā honti
bhikkhu-saṅghāṇi ca."*³

*Evam me sutam Ekam samayam Bhagavō Nālandāyām vharati Pāvārikāmba-
nāna. Attha kho Kevaddho guhapatī-putto yena Bhagavō ten,*

¹ Hermann Jacobi's Introduction to the *Kaṭhāvatthā*, p. 64 (*Jiracharita*, para. 122)

² *Dighnikāya* Vol. II p. 81

³ *Digha-kāvya* (P. T. S.) Vol. I page 1, para. 1

upasamhāmi upasamīsamitva Bhagavantam abhivaditva ekamanantam
navitī Ekamanantam nāmanu llo Kevaddho gahapati putto Bhagavantam
etad avoccha

'Ayaṃ bhante Nalanda iddha c'eva phuta ca bahujana ahimsa-manussā
Bhagavati abhippasanna Sadhu bhante Bhagava ekam bhikkhum
amadisatu yo uttari manussadhammā iddhi patihariyam karissati
Evayam Nalanda bhiggosomattayo Bhagavati abhipposidissati

Naham bhante Bhagavantam dhasena Api ca evaro vadami Ayaṃ bhante
Nalanda iddhe c'eva phuta ca bahujana ahimsa-manussā Bhagavati
abhipposammi Sadhu bhante Bhagava ekam bhikkhum samadisatu
yo uttari manussa dhamma iddhe patihariyam karissati Evayam
Nalanda bhiggosomattaya Bhagavati abhipposidissati

Patayam pi llo Kevaddho gahapati putto Bhagavantam etad avoccha

Naham bhante Bhagavantam dhasena Api ca evaro vadami Ayaṃ
bhante Nalanda iddha c'eva phuta ca bahujana ahimsa-manussā Bha-
gavati abhippasanna Sadhu bhante Bhagava ekam bhikkhum sama-
disatu yo uttari manussa dhamma iddhi patihariyam karissati
Evayam Nalanda bhiggosomattaya bhavati abhipposidissati¹

Tatra pi sutam Bhagava Nalandayam viharanti Pavariambavanine etad eva
bhavitam bhikkhuanā dhammā latham karoti

Attha llo Bhagava Nalandayam yathaharantam viharitva ayaṃsantam Anan-
dan amantesi Ayaṃ Ananda yena Patavigamo ten upasamhāmi
santa²

Evam me sutam Ekam santayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavariā-
mbavane Tena llo pana samayena Nigantho Notaputto Nalandayam
pativasati mahatzi nigantho-parivaya saddhamā Attha llo Dighatipassi
nigantho Nalandayam pūdaya caritva pacchaballam pūdayata-pūti
Ianto yena Pavariāmbavanam yena Bhagava ten upasamhāmi uposa-
hāmi Bhagavati saddham sammodi sammodanayam latham santayam
vissatva ekamanantam atthasi³

Tam llo manasi gahapati ayaṃ Nalanda iddha c'eva, phuta ca
bahujana ahimsa-manussa ti Evam bhante ayaṃ Nalanda iddha
c'eva phuta ca bahujana ahimsa-manussa ti Tam llo manasi gah-
pati idha purisa ogucchayya ukkhatta-eko so eṣam vadepya Attha
yavatitva vassa Nalandaya pūna ti ekena lhanena ekena mukuttena
ekamanasahalam ekamanasapūṇam karissamati Tam llo manasi
gahapati pahoti nu llo so purisa yavatitva vassa Nalandaya pūna
te ekena lhanena ekena mukuttena ekamanasahalam ekamanasapūṇam
karoti⁴ ti Dasa pi bhante purisa vassampi purisa, timsam pi purisa
chattarissam pi purisa pannasam-pi purisa na ppathonti yavatitva vassa
Nalandaya pūna te ekena lhanena ekena mukuttena ekamanasahalam
ekamanasapūṇam karoti Tam hi sobhati eka chhavo puriso ti Tam

¹ J. J. p. 211¹⁰

² D. p. N. 100 Vol II pp. 83 f

³ Upol. Sutta Majjhima Nik. 10 Vol I p. 31¹

*Im mannasi gahapati idh ayaccheyya samuno va brahmano va
iddhima cetovasiyatto so esam vadeyya Aham imam Nalandam ehena
manopadosena bhasmam karissanati Tam im mannasi gahapati pahoti
nu Iho samano va brahmano va iddhima cetovasiyatto imam Nalandam
ehena manopadesena bhasmam latun ti Dasa pi bhante Nalanda usotim
pi Nalanda timsam-pi Nalanda chattarisam pi Nalanda paninasam-pi
Nalanda pahoti so samano va brahmano va iddhima cetovasiyatto ehena
manopadosena bhasmam latun nu ha sobhati eka ehava Nalanda
ti Gahapati gahapati monasi latun Iho gahapati byakaro hi na
lho sandhiyati purimena va pacchimam purchimena va purimam¹*

*Imam hi bhante annatullhiya sarnham labhiva kavalakappam Nalandam
patulam parihareyyum Upatannakam gahapati savula thupa gato ti*

The Pavarikambavana or the mango grove of Pavarika according to these quotations was one of the favourite resorts of the Buddha. That it was adjacent to Nalanda is clear. But where it actually lay is not known. It is not unlikely that it stood somewhere near Silao.

Some other references to Nalanda in ancient Buddhist texts known to me are these —

*So esam pobhaddo samano addhuma mogga patipanno vaddasam Bhagavandom
antaro cho Rujagaham antaro cho Nalandam Bahuputte cetiye nissanam²
Eham samayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarilambavane Atha lho
Upat gahapati yena Bhagava tenuupasankhami³*

*Flam samayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarilambavane Atha
lho Asibandhakapitto gomani yeno Bhagava ten upasankhami upasam
khamitva Bhagavantam abhivadeto eham antam nissati⁴*

This Sutta continues to say how Asibandhakaputta was sent by Nataputta, the Nigamha to Buddha to question as to the prosperity of Buddha's visit to Nalanda during a famine.

*Eka samayam Bhagava Kosalesu carikam caramano mahata bhikkhu sang
Icchu saddhim yena Nalanda tad avasari Tatra sudam Bhagava
Nalandayam viharati Pavarilambavane*

*Tena Iho para samayena Nalanda dubbhikkha hoti derhika setatthika
calakarutta*

*Tena Iho para samayena Nigantho Nataputto Nalandayam pavasati mahariya
Nigantuo praseja saddhim*

*Atha lho Asibandhapitto gomani niganthasmallo yeno Nigantho Nataputto
ten upasankhami upasankhami i Nigantham Nataputtam abhivadeto
ekam antam nissati⁵*

*Flam samayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarilambavane Atha
lho ayyasma Samputto yena Bhagava ten upasankhami⁶*

¹ Majjhima Nikaaya Vol. I pp 5 f

² Saṅgahavagga, Kāśyapa Sutta, Jātaka, Part II p 220

³ Ibid Part IV p 110

⁴ Ibid Part IV pp 311 f

⁵ Ibid Part IV pp 301 f

⁶ Ibid Part V p 153

*Brahmajālaṃ avuso Ananda lattha bhaddan ta Antara ca bhante Rajagahaṃ
antara ca Nalandaṃ rajagahaṃ Ambalattīḍḍayam ta*¹

Another interesting reference to Nalanda in Buddhist literature is found in a Sinhalese work entitled *Nikāyasaṅgraha*² written towards the end of the 14th century after Christ by a Sugharaja (leader of a Sangha) named Dharmakirti. This reference would show that some Buddhist monks after the great schism which is alluded to even in the Sarnath Pillar Inscription of Asoka went to Nalanda after the third Sangiti was held under the presidency of the Elder Moggallāputta Tissa. These monks are said to be the Tirthikas whom this work characterises as crafty dishonest detestful avaricious and unskillful people who formed themselves into a fraternity of teachers called Mahasanghika and revered the true doctrine of the Sthaviravāda by interpolating new texts and inventing commentaries agreeable to their purposes. They were found to be corrupt and were consequently excommunicated by the great elders of the Second Convocation. The reference in question rendered into English is as follows:—

Then the Tirthikas who had been expelled from the religion receiving no help from it departed and burning with rage they assembled at Nalanda near Rajagaha. There they took counsel together saying We should make a breach between the doctrine and discipline of Sakya monks so as to make it difficult for the people to comprehend the religion. But without knowing the meetings of the religion it is not possible to do so. Therefore by some means we must again become monks. They then returned and not being able to secure admission to the Theriya Nikaya went to the members of the seventeen fraternities the Mahasanghika, etc. which had been rejected by it and entering the priesthood without letting it be discovered that they were Tirthikas and hearing and reading the Three Pitakas they reversed and subverted the same. Afterwards they went to the city of Kosambi (that is Kusambhi) and converted ways and means for keeping doctrine and discipline apart. And after two hundred and fifty-five years from the Nirvana of Buddha they separated into six divisions and residing in six places formed themselves into the nine fraternities *Hauvata Rajara Sulkarika Parvasarika Aparasara Rajara Tathakara Andhaka* and *Anga Mahasanghika*.

The Pali chronicles have reference to this episode but the author of the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* seems to have utilised the sources which are now lost for he gives no information not found in the *Dīpavamsa Mahāvamsa* or the *Samantapāsādikā*. The seeds of dissention sown during these schisms developed into various Buddhist sects and Nalanda which owing to the reputed stay of the Buddha was considered to be a hallowed locality after the advent of these monks grew into a centre of Śrāvastivādins or of the Mahāyānists. The adjoining Uddandapurī (the modern Bihār Sharif) on the other hand became, gradually the chief place for Vajrayāna and its degenerated form the Śikṣayāna.³

¹ *Anga Pāṭi Cīlavagga VI p. 28*

² *Nikāyasaṅgraha* trans. C. V. Fernando Colombo 1908 p. 2

³ See Rabusa Sanleity, *Janaka Baddha Charyā*, Kasi Introduction, page marked II

References in Brahmanical literature—Nalanda does not figure in Brahmanical literature. The only reference to a work which may be termed Brahmanical though it is non-sectarian is in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. It refers to the *Suyogut-gasutra* where Nalanda is mentioned as a *bahira* (*bahirika*) —

*Raagika namam naare Nalanda namam bahirika kotto anaga bhavana
sua saru vidha*

*Raja ariha nama nagare Nalanda nama bahirika asit aarha bhavana
satu sannivishtha iti paramarastasya samviddha bahirika gati-varnamam
Suyogut-gasut্রে Nalandadhyayমে দ্রষ্টব্যে*

The rendering of *bahirika* given in the footnote to this quotation as an editorial is evidently incorrect for the work does not mean a *gate* but a suburb, as I have stated above.

Here too Nalanda is spoken of as a prosperous suburb of Rajagriha containing hundreds of mansions. Nalanda seems to have had no special connection with Brahmanism and that is the chief reason why it does not find any mention in Brahmanical literature. Rajagriha with which it was connected from a remote period is a place of epic fame no doubt. It is connected with Jarasandha the mighty foe of Krishna whom Bhimasena vanquished in a duel. *Jarasandha ka Akhara* is still pointed out to the visitors to Rajagriha by the ingenious Pandas of the *urthu* there. It was in the rugged range of the hills of Rajagriha that once flourished the impregnable Guivraja or Kusagarapura the metropolis of Magadha and it was in this very Rajagriha that the duel of Jarasandha and Bhimasena so vividly described in the *Mahabharata* is said to have taken place. Nalanda with her gorgeous and stately *praudas* and *vikaras* stood near by but finds no mention in the epic. Even the later Brahmanical works make no mention of it.

The way in which all these texts speak of it would show that Nalanda was considered to be a distinct locality and not a part of Rajagriha. Nalanda seems to have its own administration from a remote antiquity. That it had its own Government during the early mediæval period will be shown by the *sesis* described in detail below.

Description of Nalanda given by Hsuan Tsang and I Tsing—As stated by Hsuan Tsang who was in India between 629-645 A.D. the site of Nalanda was purchased by 500 merchants for 10 *lots* of gold pieces and presented to the Buddha who preached the Law here at *Pavari-lambavana* for three months. That such a large sum was spent in purchasing the site would go to show its importance from the very commencement. The texts alluded to above would testify to its continuous prosperity which reached the zenith in the days of Hsuan Tsang's visit. To give an idea of its splendour the following description is taken from his itinerary for it is the testimony of an eye-witness.

An old king of this country called Śāraditya built this Saṅgharama not long after the *nirvana* of the Buddha.

' His son Budhagupta raja, who succeeded him built another Samgharama to the south of it Tathagata gupta raja built east from this another Samgharama Baladitya succeeded to the empire and built a Samgharama on the north east side

The king's son called Vajra succeeded to the throne and built another Samgharama to the west of the convent

After this a king of Central India built to the north of this a great Samgharama Moreover he built to the north of these edifices a high wall with one gate and placed a figure of Buddha in the hall of the monarch who first began the Samgharama

Thus six kings in connected succession added to these structures

' The whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall which encloses the entire convent from without One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls standing in the middle of the Samgharama The richly adorned towers and the fairy like turrets resembling pointed hill tops are congregated together The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds

From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms and above the soaring eaves the conjunction of the sun and the moon may be observed

And then we may add how the deep translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus intermingled with the Kanika flowers of deep red colour and at intervals the Arnia groves spread over all their shade

' All the outside courts in which are the priests chambers are of four stages The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves the pearl red pillars carved and ornamented the richly adorned balustrades and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades these things add to the beauty of the scene

The Samgharamas of India are counted by myriads but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height The priests belonging to the convent, or strangers residing therein always reach to the number of 10 000 who all study the Great Vehicle as well as the works of all the eighteen rival sects of Buddhism and even ordinary works such as the *Pada*s and other books and the works on Magic or the *Atharva veda* besides these they thoroughly investigate the miscellaneous works There are 1 000 men who can explain thirty collections and perhaps ten men including the Master of the Law who can explain fifty collections Silabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number His eminent virtue and advanced age have caused him to be regarded as the chief member of the community Within the temple they arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching and the students attend these discourses without fail, even for a minute

The priests dwelling there are as a body naturally dignified and grave so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules

The king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenue of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages day by day contribute several hundred *peuls*¹ of ordinary rice and several hundred *cotties*² in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students here being so abundantly supplied do not require to ask for the four requisites. This is the source of the perfection of their studies to which they have arrived.

The priests to the number of several thousands are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion. The old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripiṭaka* are little esteemed and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities on this account who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion come here in multitudes to settle their doubts and then the streams of their wisdom spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name of Nalanda students and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions many are unable to answer and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new books before getting admission. Those students therefore who come here as strangers have to show their ability by hard discussion. Those who fail compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten. The other two or three of moderate talent when they come to discuss in turn in the assembly are sure to be humbled and to forfeit their renown. But with respect to those of conspicuous talent of solid learning great ability illustrious virtue distinguished men these connect their high name with the succession of celebrities belonging to the college such as Dharmapala and Chandrapala who excited by their bequeathed teaching the thoughtless and the wordly. Guṇamati and Sthiramati the streams of whose superior teaching spread abroad even now. Prabhānitra with his clear discourses Jambūnātha with his exalted eloquence the sayings and doings of Jambūchandra reflect his brilliant activity. Sighrabuddhi and Śilābhadrā and other eminent men whose names are lost. These illustrious personages known to all excelled in their attainments all their distinguished predecessors and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed some tens of treatises and commentaries which were widely diffused and which for their perspicuity are passed down to the present time.

Soon after the departure of Hsuan Tsang I T'ang another famous Buddhist pilgrim from China visited India and stayed at Nalanda for a considerable time.

From his records we find that in his days there were eight halls and 300 apartments in the monastery at Nālandā and the number of residents exceeded three thousand. The monastery was in possession of more than 200 villages which were bestowed on it by kings of many generations.

The Dharmapāla mentioned by Hsuan Tsang, according to tradition,¹ went to Suvarṇadvīpa, i.e., Java-Sumatra, after he had been a teacher in Nālandā.

I Tsing found that the *vinaya* was strictly carried out at Nālandā and that was the reason why Buddhism continued to flourish there. The hours of work and of worship at Nālandā were regulated by the use of clepsydrae. The pupil, I Tsing says, after attending to the service of his teacher, reads a portion of scripture and reflects on what he has learnt. He acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute.

The method of instruction followed at Nālandā as observed by this Chinese scholar during his long stay is not void of interest and may be mentioned here in detail. This method was adopted not only at Nālandā but at other Buddhist *viharas* also. As we observe even now grammatical works especially the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini i.e., the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* had to be learnt by heart, for grammar was, and I believe rightly, considered to be the foundation of other studies. That Sanskrit learning is deep in the case of Indian *pandits* is due to this thorough grounding in *Vyākaraṇa*. I Tsing says, Grammatical science is called in Sanskrit *Sabdarūpyā*, one of the five *Vidyas*—to wit (1) *Sabdarūpyā* (grammar & lexicography), (2) *Silpasthāna-vidyā* (arts), (3) *Chikitsā-midyā* (medicine), (4) *Hetu-midyā* (logic), and (5) *Adhyātma-vidyā* (science of the Universal soul or philosophy). *Sabdarūpyā* is of five kinds. The first is the *Sūdda* which children learn when they are about six years old and finish it in six months. This I think is *Rūpanālī* which gives paradigms, declensions, etc. The second is *Sūtra* which is the foundation of all grammatical science. It contains a thousand *ślokas* and is the work of Pāṇini. Children begin to learn the *Sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months' time. This remark of the Chinese scholar is a good testimony of the marvellous memory of the Indian boys of his time for I doubt if we have such prodigies in our schools or *colles* nowadays who can master *Aṣṭadhyāyī* in eight months. The third is 'the book on *Dhātu*' i.e., *Dhātupāṭha*. The fourth he says, is 'the book on the three *Khilas* (or "pieces of waste land") viz., *Aṣṭadhātū*, *Māndu* and *Unādi*' (What is really meant by the first two is not quite clear. *Unādi* we all know well). Boys begin to learn the book on the three *Khilas* when they are ten years old, and understand them thoroughly after three years' diligent study. The fifth is '*Vṛtti sūtra*'. This is a commentary on the *Sūtra*. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand after five years.

The study of *Vyākaraṇa* was preliminary to the study of higher subjects and a student had to devote some fourteen years of his early life to it beginning from his boyhood or when he was a stripling of six years. Further we are told after having studied this commentary, students begin to learn composition in

prose and verse and devote themselves to logic (*hetuśāstra*) and metaphysics (*abhidharmaśāstra*). In learning the *Nyayadvara-tārka-sūtra* (introduction to logic) they rightly draw inferences (*anumāna*), and by studying the *Jātaka-māla* (stories of the Buddha in previous births) their power of comprehension increases. Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they pass two or three years generally in the Nalanda monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhi (the modern Wala) in Western India. These two places are like Chünma, Shüehü, Langmen and Chueh in China, and there eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their activities. There they present their schemes and show their (political) talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government. When they are present in the House of Debate they raise their seat and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness. When they are refuting heretical doctrines all their opponents become tongue-tied and acknowledge themselves undone. There the sound of their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate, and their renown flows as it were over the four borders. They receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank. Their famous names are as a reward written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like.¹

Some preliminary study was gone through before one was allowed to enter Nalanda as a student. This the pilgrim makes clear while giving his account of Nalanda. He also tells us that while composition of poems was one of the occupations of the residents of the monasteries, great attention was given at Nalanda to the practice of singing or chanting. I Tsing must have been greatly impressed by it for he became anxious to see it introduced in his own country.

What he says in general regarding monasteries in India about physical exercise must have held good for Nalanda. He says: "In India both priests and laymen are generally in the habit of taking walks, going backwards and forwards along a path at suitable hours and at their pleasure, they avoid noisy places. Firstly it cures disease and secondly it helps to digest food. The walking hours are in the forenoon and late in the afternoon. They either go away (for a walk) from their monasteries or stroll quietly along the corridors. If any one adopts this habit of walking he will keep his body well and thereby improve his religious merit. This reminds us of the adage: 'healthy mind in a healthy body' which people of ancient India must have kept in view for the daily pursuits of their life. The high opinion which I Tsing had of Nalanda will be inferred from his remarks. I have always been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them (i.e. the distinguished teachers at Nalanda) personally, which I should otherwise never have possessed, and that I could refresh my memory of past study by comparing old notes with new ones."²

¹ *Si-yi-t'u* (ed. Takakura) pp. 169ff.

² *Si-yi-t'u* pp. 184, 185—quoted by Hsueh in his *An ancient Indian Education* pp. 102 f.

These descriptions by eye witnesses not only give us a clear picture of the old Nalanda but tell us what sort of universities India had in her palmy days. The *gurus* and the *śishyas* in those times were properly looked after by the State. The Vidyasthana or the university of Nalanda had its own administration which governed some 200 villages free from taxation and met the requirements of the teachers and the taught liberally. What wonder then that the *śākyas* like Śāṇemakṣita were born in India whose fame spread far and wide making foreign kings invite them for the diffusion of the light of the holy religion in distant lands beyond the borders of this vast country!

Nalanda in different epochs—That Nalanda was a prosperous locality in the time of Mahāvīra the 24th Jina and of Gautama Buddha is shown by the literary evidence given above. As to its being a place of some importance about the time of Aśoka the great Mauryan Emperor the testimony of the Sūaliya work *Nīlaya-Saṃgraha* of Dharmakīrti is quite significant. We hear of Nalanda in the Śunga period of Indian history also for according to Taranātha a lady came from Nalanda to meet her kinsman Puṣyamitra the well known potentate of the Śunga dynasty. The copper plate inscription purporting to belong to the time of Samudragupta which was issued from Nīpura (modern Narpur near Nalanda) and dug out from the debris of Monastery I the clay seals of Naraśimhagupta and other Gupta rulers found from the site are the relics of Nalanda in the Gupta epoch. Thereafter comes the evidence of the stone inscription of the time of Yaśovarmadeva and then of the Maukhya seals and the seals of Harṣavardhana of Bhaskaravarman the Pragyotisha ruler as well as of several other Indian Kings. A number of monastic seals excavated at the site which on palaeographic grounds are ascribable to the period when Hsuan Tsang came to India afford a similar testimony. The charters of Dharmapaladeva and of Devapaladeva and the Ghosriwan *prāśasta* of the latter are clear evidences of the prosperity of Nalanda during the Pala epoch. The Pala rulers were staunch Buddhists and must have patronised Nalanda very liberally. The period extending from about the 6th to about the 9th century seems to have been the most flourishing period of Nalanda. Then come the records of the reign of Mahendrapala, the Pratāpura King of Kanauj which were also recovered from the site. They would further testify to the continued popularity of Nalanda. But it is curious that as a chief centre of learning Nalanda figures only after the 4th century of the Christian era. Fa Hien visited all the Buddhist centres of India between the years 405-411 after Christ and makes no specific mention of Nalanda though as remarked above his Nalagrama does not appear to be different from it. The time of Hsuan when it could send one thousand monks to receive the Emperor at Kanauj seems to have been the palmiest day of Nalanda.¹ Its glory must have continued to remain increasing and as a seat of Buddhist lore and of general Sanskrit culture it grew into a place of international reputation during the time of Devapaladeva when it attracted the attention of rulers of the far off Java and Sumatra. Even with the political decadence of Magadha it continued to enjoy a reputation as a centre

¹ Smith *Early History of India* (4th ed.) p. 267

such as belong to the later Pala period. Which part of the area under exploration contains the remains of the six monasteries or *sangharāmas* mentioned by Hsuan Tsang has not yet been determined. Site I has yielded the earliest remains found so far and it is not unlikely that the remains of some principal *sangharāma* seen by this famous pilgrim from China lay buried in it. The testimony of the Devapaladeva's copper plate would indicate that the *vihāra* built at the instance of the Śaśilendra king of Suvarṇadvīpa stood here. Several strata found on this site are indicative of successive desertions and re-occupations. Not less than eight levels of occupation have been exposed here. So far the remains of twelve monasteries, the terraced basement of what appears to have been a temple and a number of *stupas* or *chaityas* have been excavated. These have been described in detail in the Annual Reports. To give a general idea of these monastic structures a brief description of the monastery called A and its adjuncts A and B and of the basement of the temple standing on site 2 might be given here together with illustrations. The area under exploration contains chiefly Buddhist antiquities though it has yielded a number of Brahmanical remains as well like the images of Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and the emblems of Śiva. These Brahmanical sculptures are evidently late and belong to the time when Mahāyānism was gradually fused into Brahmanism. The structural remains would show that the *vihāras* of Nalanda were of a common type and on plan formed a rectangle bounded by an outer ring of cells with an open verandah running round their inner face and enclosing a spacious quadrangular court usually containing a well. Sometimes the verandah was colonnaded and sometimes it was like an open terrace. The outer walls were plain with the exception of a simple plinth moulding or string course or raised band running round the building and dividing the facade. Whether they had any windows or not we cannot say for certain. The cells which were meant for *śamādhi* or meditation only were probably without such windows for they had to be kept entirely free from the hubbub of the world. Others which were meant for residential purposes must have got ventilators of some sort. Chambers with well paved broad and long seats or beds which we now see must have been furnished with some windows or ventilators. In the cells meant only for meditation even the door which usually opened on to the inner verandah had to be shut for having *chitta vīri nirodha* or complete concentration of mind. The cells which have been opened for example at Kasia—the place where the Buddha attained *Mahāparanirvāna* are very deep and the walls are sufficiently high no doubt. They do not show any window and the inference is that the meditators were let into the cell from above and allowed to remain there as long as they had to. Such is the practice in Tibet even in these days. These cubicles excavated at Nalanda usually have in the thickness of their walls small corbelled niches obviously meant to enshrine an image, the chief or perhaps the only companion of a devotee at the time of meditation. The residential cells are provided with recesses generally of concrete and must have served as couches or beds. Stone beds *reclines* evidently designed for lying on which we see in the ancient caves found in the Tirunelveli district of the Madras Presidency for instance bear labels giving the names of the

individuals for whom they were meant. Some of these labels which are written in the Mauryan *Brahmi* *lipi* call these beds *atitānam* (Sanskrit *adhasthānam*) meaning 'abode'. A few of these beds are raised on one side in the form of pillows and therefore must have served the purpose of beds.

The quadrangles had a projecting porch on one side which gave the entrance to the monastery. The several viharas opened at Nalanda on the eastern side are mostly orientated west. Directly opposite to the entrance was the shrine wherein the principal image of Rādhagata was enthroned as we see in Monastery No. I where the Chapel still preserves the remains of a colossal figure of the Buddha seated in the *padmasana*. The *stupas* or *chaityas* of Nalanda are of the usual type and of the mediaeval period. They are all ruinous but what some of them must have been originally can be inferred from the accompanying photo which represents a complete miniature *stupa* of that age (Pl. I b). According to Hsuan Tsang there stood a *stupa* at Nalanda in which the cuttings of the nails and hair of the Buddha were deposited. That monument has still to be located and I cannot say for certain if the large *stupa* standing on the west of this site could have been such a monument. Its decorations and the structure still standing to the east of it are indicative of its importance no doubt.

Monastery No. I—The large monastery which is called Monastery I stands on the southernmost portion of the site under excavation. It is rectangular in shape and measures 205 by 168 feet. The walls are 6-6" thick except on the west where their width is about 7-6". The large thickness would indicate that the building was a strong one and had several storeys. It was built of reddish bricks of superior texture and rubbed so smooth that their joints were hardly noticeable. The patches seen here and there would indicate that they were covered with plaster. At present the external walls run to a height of about 2½ feet in some cases. Rows of chambers about 10 feet square are to be seen along the interior wall. The entrance was at the west and lay in the portico which is 50 × 24 and must have rested on pillars whose bases are still lying *in situ*. On the two sides of this porch there are large niches containing stucco figures whose colour was quite fresh when I opened them. One of these figures is of Tara. Is it the one Hsuan Tsang described so vividly? It was in this portico that I discovered the large copper plate of Devapāladitya. The debris here was evidently burnt in a general conflagration when the monastery was subjected to some catastrophe and the inmates had to run away leaving their gods behind in terror. The adjoining monastery whose remains were also opened by me contained charred door-jambes and sills which are clear indications of this sort of catastrophe. On the debris of the structures which were thus destroyed new buildings were erected. Owing to the accumulation of the earth the plinth became raised and steps were needed to get in. Two main flights of steps are still to be seen: the one leading from the entrance up to the top storey of the monastery and the other down to the courtyard where the well was.

The two structural caves of brick with corbelled entrances 3-10" wide which we see in this monastery possesses considerable architectural interest. They resemble the rock-cut caves at Barabar and consist of two identical chambers

measuring about 15' 1" by 11' 8" internally. They are built at the north side of the courtyard. Both of them are vaulted the vaults being about 9' 6" high. That they are pre-Muhammudan is unquestionable. They furnish us with early examples of vaulted roofs or curved ceilings which were constructed prior to the advent of Islam in India. It is in this fact that their chief interest lies. At a level of some 22 feet below the uppermost parapet of the court of the monastery the remains of a *charbutra* inset with panels in low relief of hind bodied men worshipping a lotus plant were found. The style of the decorations of this structure belongs to about the sixth century after Christ. The *charbutra* is therefore the earliest structural relic yet found at the site.

To the south west corner of this monastery I opened up another *vihara* now called IA. The entrance to this structure was from the north through a pillared portico. The bases of the columns of the portico are still preserved. This monastery is rectangular in shape and has seven chambers on each side with possibly a shrine chamber in the south. It had a pillared verandah the quadrangle being paved with bricks. In the centre of the courtyard there are two parallel rows of what appear to be hearths seven in number and connected by a common corbelled duct about 2 feet in height. The same feature is to be found in the eastern verandah also. It is not unlikely that here there was a medical summary or *Viśvak Sālā* where *rasas* of sorts were manufactured and the medical students were given practical lessons in pharmacy unless of course they were meant to be culinary hearths. In the remains of the verandah and the cells on the northern side and some rooms in the north east corner I made a large haul of bronze or copper and stone images of the Buddhist divinities Tīra, Padmapāni, Mūreya and others. Some of these statues possess great artistic skill.

The flight of steps between two of the rooms on the north side possibly gave access to the roof of the verandah or the upper storey of the main monastery. On the south west corner of this structure there is a long *gūcca* drain showing vaults at different places. We find it in the area lying to the south of the large *stupa* on the site No. 3 and possibly it was meant to drain off the water into the pond or lake on the south side. Its existence would not necessarily indicate that the monastic building in which it is found was deserted before the large *stupa* was built.

These I believe are the earliest monastic structures yet found on the site under excavation. The monastery No. 1 seems to have been the most prominent one during the early Pak period for it was here that several antiquities of that age were recovered along with the earlier remains like the clay seals, the stone inscription of Yasovarmadeva and the copper plate purporting to belong to Samudragupta the great Gupta Emperor. It may incidentally be remarked here that while carrying explorations at the outer side of the southern wall of the main monastery I found several outer cells with numerous earthen pots. The debris here was very stinking and I am led to infer that these cells were used as latrines by the monks residing in the monastery.

After making this short survey of the two monasteries I should like to describe the remains of a ruined stone temple which stood on the site called Patharghatti i.e. site No 2 and must have been one of the most magnificent buildings of Nalanda of the mediæval period. It is not improbable that the remains found on this site are connected with the temple which Baladitya had built. That he built one at Nalanda is proved not only by the testimony of Hsuan Tsang but by the evidence of the stone inscription of Yasovarmanadeva which clearly says —

Here at Nalanda Baladitya the great King of irresistible valour after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth erected as if with a view to see the Kailasa mountain surpassed a great and extraordinary temple (*prasadā*) of the illustrious son of Suddhodana (i.e. the Buddha)

The remains chiefly consist of the basement of a structure which was presumably a temple and must have been square in plan. The external dimensions of the building are 118 × 102. The nature of the internal plan has not yet been determined. The place where the sanctum probably stood is covered with debris of huge stones. The fragments of the *amalaka* lying in the debris are clear indications of the building having been a temple. The outside stone plinth and the side projections of the structure have been fully exposed. I traced the plinth to its very foundation at three different places. The trial trench sunk at the west side led me to a very nicely built high brick wall which runs north to south and has by subsequent explorations been proved to be the eastern outer wall of a distinct monastery now marked No 7. A regular drain has been cut in this wall. Evidently this monastery came into existence after the stone faced terrace was built. The terraced structure must have fallen down and abandoned before the drain could be allowed to fall into the compound of a temple which stood on a lower level. The interior of the terrace was filled with undressed blocks of stones as are used for infilling. The large dressed stones with grooves meant for clamps might have belonged to some part of the edifice which stood on this basement. Possibly all the stones including the carved panels formed part of another building originally and were brought down to this site for being used in constructing a new sanctuary. I am led to this assumption by the patches of the well rubbed bricks, seen here and there round the basement between the carved stone panels and by the uncarved stone panels. They were put in to fill up the gaps in the basement of the new structure. The earlier building to which the carved stone panels belonged fell down and its remains did not supply the whole material needed for the proposed structure. Perhaps the new structure was to be made of bricks chiefly and that was the reason why in the gaps we see plaster and mouldings of bricks though the upper portion was of stones as the large *amalaka* fragments would show. The extant stone panels and mouldings are not even in line. The panels as their very nature would indicate must have belonged to some magnificent structure. The script of the inscriptions found on some of the stones on the northern side of the eastern face cannot be later than the 6th or 7th century A.D. and would support the hypothesis made above regarding the original temple to which these stones might have belonged.

The unfinished stone panels would lead us to surmise that even the terrace was not completed. The bricks used here are late mediaeval like those of the monastic building to the west.

The terrace has a low flight of steps on the east and is decorated by a dado running round the base. The dado which forms its chief feature comprises some 200 sculptured panels of which 20 appear on the proper right side of the flight of steps, 58 on the south, 57 on the west, 48 on the north and 17 on the proper left side of the entrance. The pilasters separating them are ornamented with pot-and-foilage design. The surmounting arches are trefoil in shape though some of them have a pointed form. A double cornice surmounts the dado though in certain places the traces of a third cornice are still visible and attract the eye of a visitor by the human head carved in an arch. The third cornice was probably left unfinished. The carved panels of the terrace display a very pleasing variety of figures. They are separated from one another by means of the pilasters which are decorated with the pot-and-foilage design and are surmounted by arches carved in trefoil shape, some being pointed like a *chaitya* window and others having a lintel like top. Some of them are unfinished while a few are too worn or weathered. On the row of these panels we find a double cornice of which the lower moulding is decorated with the reprieves of the arched fronts of *chaityas* and well-carved figures of geese alternating them, and the upper one with larger reprieves of the same *chaitya* motif with various birds shown in different poses in the intervals between them. In a few places traces of a third cornice are also visible. This cornice must have been more prominent than the other two and was perhaps more ornamental as could be inferred from the human head in an arch we see on the south-east corner of the dado. Apparently this third cornice could not be completed in stone because all the members could not be found for being set in. At the facade on the west side even the stone panels as well as the pilasters are wanting and had to be replaced by brick work. Whatever remains of the dado in the former structure could be had were brought in and used for constructing the basement and the gaps were filled by bricks moulded or rubbed according to necessity. The stone panels show a very pleasing variety of sculpture carved on them. A number of figures we see on them are decidedly Brahmanical, for example the representations of Śiva and Parvati, Gaṇaśakha, Agni and Kubera (Pl. I c d). The *makaras*, the scroll-foilage, various geometrical designs, the *mithunas*, the elaborately dressed women seated in pairs, the *gandharvas* playing on the harp or *vina* such as we see on the coins of Śaṃdragupta of the *lyst* type are among the attractive sculptures in this dado. The snake charmer, the representation of the well-known '*lachchhapa-jataka*' showing the tortoise holding in his mouth the stick carried by swans in their beaks and the village boys shouting—

Tam tathu hamsaṁ nityaṇam amadā raka dāsa ' dā hama lachchhapaṁ dandālena hamaṁ nā nhamu ' 2

¹ *Jātaka-mālā*, 15th Jātaka. *The Jātaka*, ed. V. Leisner, Vol. II, p. 175. *Panchatantram*, I, sec. 13th story. *Frühindien*—I, p. 16.

Mithunas in amorous postures sculptured in accordance with the canonical injunction like *Mithunas cha abhushayati*¹ and scenes in archery are not less attractive. Several panels depict human couples in various poses. One gives a female figure in the attitude of threatening her child. Many of these panels show mere decorative devices. One gives a design based upon the hexagon and would show that it is wrong to believe that such designs are exclusively of Molseian or Sarcenic origin. In the same way it is incorrect to hold that pointed arch in India owed its origin to a similar inspiration. Both of them are to be met with at Nalanda in buildings which are certainly anterior to the advent of Islam in India. The pair of human headed birds with an elaborate and flowery tail which we see on the south east corner of the plinth the heraldic pheasant with a *rohra* in his beak or the heraldic mark are some of the other noteworthy panels. But by far the most interesting examples of realistic art we find in these decorations are the panels which represent folding gates with one half shown as closed and the other represented as open by means of a simple device of not sculpturing it at all but letting one half of the figure within appear to view. This device would show that the architect could understand perspective and other principles of architecture and that he was a great adept in delineation and in producing the decisive effect in his sculpture. Whether the structure to which these panels originally belonged was a Brahmanical or Buddhist sanctuary it is difficult to say with certainty. The panels appear to be Brahmanical. Among the sculptures recovered from the site there is one (18" high) which represents Buddha seated under a trefoil canopy in the *dharmacakra* pose. But it is late medieval. The statuette of standing Vishnu (7" high) holding *ankha chakra gada* and *padma* in his hands was also recovered here and is similarly late in origin. But apart from a very few Brahmanical remains and some clay seals which must have come from outside no relic of Brahmanism has been found on the site which must have been exclusively Buddhist. The stray relics of other sects are in all probability extraneous.

Clay seals

Reliquaries or Monastic Seals—Nalanda has now given us thousands of seals and so many in our excavations during the last 20 or more years. The majority of these seals show the *Dharmacakra* with a gazelle at the sides and the name of the congregation or *sangha* of the revered monks (*bhikkhus*) of the *Mahavihara* of Nalanda. Only two dies have so far been recovered from the extensive site of Nalanda. The rest are all impressions—the positive ones. A number of them give the Buddhist creed formula in Sanskrit written in early medieval Nagari characters sometimes most calligraphically so much so that we cannot help admiring the engraver for his mastery on the *chisel* with which he wrote flesh is hanging out the forms of letters as beautifully as a painter or calligraphist would write on paper. A large number of the impressions

¹ See *Art of the Indian Subcontinent*, p. 100. ² See *Art of the Indian Subcontinent*, p. 100. ³ See *Art of the Indian Subcontinent*, p. 100.

found on different plaques gives only some Buddhist text which is so minutely written that it defies decipherment (Pl I c). These plaques have got curious shapes—some are like leaves with long stems as in the specimen in Pl II a. Can they be some Vajrayana symbols like the *Manipadma*? Many of these plaques bear figures of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara or Padmapani, the All-Compassionate, Mureyya, the next Buddha, and Tara, the Saviouress. These are all made of baked red clay and were evidently meant for being given as *prasada* to the pious pilgrims who would gladly take them as mementos. Some bear the representation of one or more stupas with or without the creed formula. These have no grooves at the back side for they were not meant for being tied to a letter or any other object. The Nalanda seals are usually marked with grooves on the backside. These grooves are thin and their width is commensurate with a small *todi* leaf. This fact leads me to surmise that these seals were tied by means of such leaves. The mark seen on the back of many of them is like the impression which one half length of a *todi* leaf would give. *Todi* trees are standing in large numbers in the locality even now and their leaves are easily obtainable. These sealings were needed for being fastened to letters or manuscripts or other documents sent from Nalanda. They would vouch for the genuineness of the documents and might have also been affixed to the certificates *prasamsa*—or *prasaṃsa-paṭras* which the various educational establishments at Nalanda gave to their scholars to distinguish them from fruits of whom Hsuan Tsang has spoken in his accounts. The *todi* leaves would serve the purpose of the modern tape. The seals with deep grooves or holes piercing them right through were fastened by means of strings or by cloth. Some of them bear impressions which are clearly of cloth. One seal has still got a piece of white *khadi* cloth with which it was tied to some document. The *khadi* piece is bleached and still keeps its whiteness.

These seals are of various types and were evidently issued by the different *niṣāyas* or *sanghas* at Nalanda. Some of the *sanghas* represented by these specimens are

- 1 *Claturddis-aripya bhikṣhu sangha*
- 2 *Gandhabhūti-varaḥa bhikṣhu sangha*
- 3 *Mālanavāḥarmma-varaḥa-bhikṣhu sangha* and
- 4 *Varaḥa* or *eka varaḥa bhikṣhu sangha*

The majority of these seals belong to the Mahavihara or the great monastery of Nalanda. The upper field of these seals is taken by the Wheel of the Law flanked by a deer (Pl II b). This was the device of the Deer park where Gautama Buddha first set the *Dharma-cakra* or the Wheel of the Law in motion, i.e. preached for the first time the 'dharma' he found out to the five blessed ones (*pancha bhadrā varṇiyas*) the flanking deer indicating the locality which was then called *Mṛigadāra*. It was adopted by the Pala kings of Bengal who patronised Buddhism very liberally. Nalanda was the centre of learning and the *dharma* was preached from Nalanda through the revered *bhikṣhus* and the Buddhist works were written at and sent out from Nalanda. Thus we learn

from the charter of Devapaladeva the famous Pala king of Bengal. It was quite appropriate therefore that this symbol was adopted for the seals of Nalanda which was highly instrumental in the advancement or propagation of Buddhism. The Palas adopted the insignia out of respect for the *acharyas* of Nalanda and love for Buddhism which they were eager to propagate. They used the symbol not only on the seal of copper plates or the clay seals but for sculptures in stone or bronze as well.

Secular or Civil Seals—The other seals—I am using the terms seal and sealing promiscuously in the sense of impressions—are secular or civil while those which I have noticed before may be called Religious Ecclesiastical or Academic. These possess great historical importance and deserve a detailed examination. Some of them belong to kings or emperors others to officials and private individuals. Besides, there are seals in this collection which relate to Government offices corporate bodies and villages or village communities.

Variety and Symbols—The seals recovered from Nalanda are not only more numerous but more varied from those excavated at other sites such as Basrah the old Basra. They are chiefly Buddhist only very few being Brahmanical or non-sectarian. Under the latter head may be placed the seals or plaques of some royal persons and other individuals. In shape they are mostly circular or oval. Some are triangular or of the form of long beads or balls.

As to the symbols on them the majority which consist of the Nalanda *mahavihara* seals bear the *Dharmachakra* insignia as has just been stated. On the other seals various symbols are to be noticed as *Gajalakshmi*, *anantakalasa*, *padma*, *sanhu*, *trisula*, *vedi*, *dhvaja*, *trishobha*, *simha*, *surya* and *chandra*. The Persian fire altar seen on some and resembling the similar symbol on seals found at Basrah (No. 9) is noteworthy.

Royal Seals—Illustrations of all the important seals which are of distinct types are given below with brief descriptions omitting the measurements. The royal seals are usually large in size. This might be due to the status of the personage who issued them. They must have been tied with stout strings at different places on the reverse. It is to be regretted that in most cases we have not been able to recover good complete specimens of these royal tokens and are therefore unable to settle several points connected with them. As is usually the case the most important and vital portions are the most affected.

The seals which are of red clay are all baked. Those which are yellowish are perhaps half burnt. A few specimens which have a yellow or darkish tinge might be unburnt or un-fired. They were probably heated shortly before the despatch of letters. The method of using these seals seems to have been different from the one employed in the case of the seals which Sir Aurel Stein recovered from places like Khotan. Even the seals excavated at Basrah were also used differently.

All these seals are in the Sanskrit language and in the northern script the earlier ones being written in the Gupta and the later ones in the early Nagari alphabet. No specimen has yet been found written in the pre Gupta alphabet.

The earliest of these seals which I have been able to identify is that of Budhagupta¹. It is to be regretted that his complete pedigree is not preserved in the legend but that he was of the Gupta descent from Kumaragupta the son and successor of Chandragupta (II) cannot be doubted. No other seal of this ruler has yet been found and it is good that even such a fragmentary specimen has been secured. The seal of Narasimhagupta though not entire, is another valuable find. It establishes the identity of the King as the son of Puragupta born of the queen consort sri Vamvadevi² and not Vatsadevi as has hitherto been believed. The seal of Kumaragupta the son and successor of Narasimhagupta is more important for it enables us to find out the correct names of the mothers of Kumaragupta and Narasimhagupta. Fleet Smith and other writers took these names as Mahalakshmidēvi and Vatsadevi. Hoernle thought that the former name was Srimatadevi. This seal clearly shows that these names are sri Vamvadevi³ and sri Mitradevi. Vamya is a synonym of Kubhēra the god of wealth. The name Vamvagupta is to be met with among the Gupta Kings of Bengal. The seal of this king namely Vamvagupta has also been secured at Nalanda and is herein published. His copper plate inscription with a seal from Tippera in East Bengal has already been brought to light. Sir Richard Burn⁴ in his letter to me thinks that Vamya is another name of Vajra whom Hsuan Tsang mentions as the son of Euladitya⁵. He bases this opinion on the authority of the *Brahmanas* and the St Petersburg dictionary where Vamya is derived from Vena and is connected with Indra. Vajra is the thunderbolt and Vamya is a patronymic from Vena who is India. The derivation which the *Brahmanas* give is too comprehensive and I do not know if it can be correctly adopted in this case. Besides there is no apparent reason why Hsuan Tsang should give a name which was not adopted in the official documents namely the copper-plate and the seal. In either case my point remains unaffected. Vamya and Mitra are two divinities in the Hindu pantheon. The two queens were designated after them. The seal of Vamvagupta is fragmentary and the legend preserved on it does not give any other name. So his pedigree remains unknown. Even his copper plate inscription does not supply it. Our fragment is however interesting for it shows that Vamvagupta was an independent ruler as he is herein styled *Maharajadhiraja*.

Seals of Chandras.—Another valuable seal in the collection is that of [Bha] gavachchandra, a king who was not known before. From the description given in the legend written on the seal he appears to have been the son of the sister's son of Gopachandra. The latter king is known to us from his copper plate inscription that has already been published. If he is the same ruler as Gopichandra or Govichundia of Taranatha the Lama historian of Tibet, he might

¹ See *Funerary Inscriptions* Vol. XXX, pp. 77 ff.

[Correct reading is sri Chandradēvi.—Ed.]

² *Ind. H. Quarterly* Vol. VI 1930, p. 136 and plate.

⁴ I understand it that Sir Richard Burn is discussing the interesting point in his Chapter on the Guptas which will appear in the 2nd Vol. of the *Cambridge History of India*.

⁵ See above p. 16.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV, p. 202 and plate.

be identical with the chief whose songs are sung in the North of India,¹ and who is said to have relinquished his kingdom at the instance of his mother and became a *yogi* whom tradition says Bhatrihari initiated into the mysteries of *yoga*. There he is known as Gopichand. He had no issue. He renounced the harem and became a monk. His mother did not like his ascending the throne which was cursed—whoever occupied it in the direct line would become a leper. He was a very handsome young man. His mother saw him bathing one day. Thinking of the curse she was very much moved by the thought that her dear son of such a lovely body would soon be an abominable leper. She decided to ask him to leave the throne and he acted according to her directions. This tale is largely sung in the Punjab where it is very popular. It is often staged also. The legend on the seal would show that Gopachandra had no direct heir and that his *saur ja* (sister's son) from Syunadevi became his successor. The initial letter of the name is not preserved but in all probability it was *Bha* and his full name was Bhagavachchandra. The seal would further show that Gopachandra was a very powerful and famous ruler though it does not specify the dynasty to which he or his successor belonged. That they were Vishnavite kings is shown by their very names. The tradition to which Pargter alludes in his article would indicate that Gopa or Gopichandra was the grandson of Baladitya and son of Kumaragupta of the Bhittari seal. He might have gone to and settled in the extreme eastern province of Bengal during the Hunn onslaught and after the powerful hand of Yasovarmadeva was withdrawn in the latter half of the 6th century of the Christian era.

There is another fragmentary seal in the collection which preserves the latter part of the name *chandra* and gives a legend which resembles the one found on the seal of [Bhagavachchandra]. Whether this seal belongs to Gopachandra Bhagavachchandra or any other Chandra cannot be stated definitely.

Miscellaneous Seals—In the collection we have a group of five seals which represent a dynasty not known so far. Only one of them is entire though the legend on it is badly worn. The seals of King Manasimal² possess their own interest. Of the three specimens found in the collection one is quite complete (S. 1842). This and other specimens of the kind will suffice to give us an idea of the development of the art of seal making in those days. These seals can compare well with the Moghul coins which are so often admired. In many cases their legends are much more sublime for is not the stanza—

Taina rama dharma vidah jagati jagat pritay, talashma nobler
and more dignified than the egotistic Lombardic Moghul couplets like

ر زاسب ار پسر اکبر دانشاه
دراں ار نام ساه نور علی نور
چهاں نور گشت نکثر سکه زر
ر نور نام حرم کبر شه انور

¹ [His songs are also well known in Bengal.—Ed.]

² [The correct name is *Manasimala*.—Ed.]

found on the coins of Akbar and Jahangir? The legend is written in Sanskrit verse as are the legends on most of the Gupta coins and in the Gupta script. It is not known to which dynasty the King Manasnaha belonged. He might have been a petty chief related possibly to Pisupatinsinha whose seal has also been found (S I 637 etc). These seals are remarkable for the aesthetic merit they possess and I doubt if the assertion of the late Dr V Smith that the art of coinage certainly decayed so decisively that not even one mediæval coin deserves notice for its æsthetic merit should be taken seriously. These seals have no monetary value but taking the word in the original meaning might be termed coins. In any case their exquisite execution would prove that the art of coinage did not deteriorate but continued to develop even in the 7th century A.D.

The collection contains another interesting seal though the personages mentioned in the legend have not been identified. It is fragmentary unfortunately but from the description given in the legend it would appear that they were important potentates in that they are called *Maharajadhiraja*. The names of *Mitya* and *Vitayya* provided they have been read correctly seem to indicate southern extraction though the expression (*caru-a*)*rama yara-tha pana parvita* appearing in the legend would connect the rulers with the Mauryas. One of the names begins with the letters *Jara* which reminds us of Jorasandha of the *Mahabharata* episode.

Pragjyotisha Seal.—The seals of the Maukhari kings and of Harshavardhana have already been described in my article in the *Epigraphia Indica* and need not be dilated upon here. But the Pragjyotisha seals which have also been recovered do require special notice. The fragment of the seal of Bhaaskaravarman has already been noticed in detail elsewhere¹. The seals I have now in view are of the successor of the Kamarupa King Supratishthita (varman) whose name is partly preserved. The legend ends in (varm a)ti. The name with which the penultimate line ends is an Supratishthita. The pedigree given in the seal after Pushyavarman is —Pushyavarma his son Samudravarma his son Balavarma who was born of Dattavati his son Kalyanavarma born of Ratnavati his son Ganapativarma born of Gundharavati his son Mahendravarma born of Yajnavati his son Narayanavarma born of Savrita his son Bhutivarma born of Devanata his son Chandiamukhavarma born of Vijnanavati his son Sthiravarma born of Bhogavati his son Susthitavarma born of Nayana sobha his son Supratishthitavarma born of Dhruvalakshmi. Whether there was any other name after these is not quite clear.

A fragment from the right side showing Vishnu riding Garuda in the upper field and portion of a nine lined legend bespeaks of another ling or dynasty which requires identification.

There is yet another interesting seal which requires special mention. It is of Sam chais[deva*]. The legend is much worn but suffices to set at rest the controversy about the genuineness of the Gurrah to plate of the time of

J B G H S Vr1 V1 p 151

There is of course a lot of material on this subject. For example, see the following references: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640

M Samacharadeva¹ On the evidence of this seal and of the gold coin that plate has to be taken as a genuine document

These are the royal seals in clay which have been excavated at Nalanda. Evidently all these royalties patronized the religious and educational institutions established at Nalanda. That Harsha took special interest in Nalanda is shown by the remnants of Hsuan Tsang. His seals have also been found here. I have published them in the *Epigraphia Indica*

Only one small seal of Devapaladeva has been found here. It might be of the famous Pala king himself. We know he was a great patron of Nalanda. The interest he took in the monastic establishment of Nalanda would be indicated by his appointing an abbot of Nalanda from the Yasovarmmapura vihara as stated in the Ghosrawan stone inscription. Some seals which are similarly small and plain and bear names which appear to be of the Pala kings have also been unearthed. They are also being described below with illustrations.

Seals of Corporations or Janapadas—Mention may now be made of the official seals, the seals of offices of corporate bodies and the like. Some thirteen seals have been found whose legends name the *Janapadas* to which they belonged. In the legend the name of the village to which the seal belongs is given first either in the locative singular or compounded with the term *Janapada* which follows it. In some cases the name of the village is not clear but that sort of obscurity does not affect the meaning. Except in one case where the length mark is not distinct all these seals invariably give the term *Janapada*. The legend in two cases names the corporate body or office which was higher than that of the village to whose corporation the seal belonged. One of these seals is connected with the *Janapada* of (it located in) the *vihara* of the village of Angami (?) and another to the village of Mannayila. Both of these villages are mentioned as subordinate (it tied or attached) to Nalanda. The legend on one of these describes the *Janapada* as located (*°stha*) in the monastery and would clearly show that the *Janapada* was an office or corporate body which was distinct from the inhabitants of the village named in the legend, the villagers as such could not have migrated to the monastery. These two legends respectively read as—

Sri Nalanda pratibaddha Angami grama viharastha-janapadasya

and

Sri Nalanda pratibaddha Mannayila grama janapadasya

Both of these seals are represented in the plate. The names of the thirteen villages to which these *janapadas* belonged, as recorded in the legends given on the seals are

(1) Punka (S I 374)

(2) Jakkurila

(3) Varakiya (S 9 R 91)

(4) Brahmani or Brithmasi (S 9, R 92)

(5) Udradvarasthana. (*Sihana* in all probability stands for the modern *thana*) (S 9 R 92)

¹ See Bhandarkar's *Let of India* No 17. The names preserved in the seal reads of *h Samacha*

- (6) Narako (S 9 R 92)
- (7) Mannavila (S 9 R 16)
- (8) Ghananjana (S 9 R 19 and R 1A) (modern Ghenjan in Gaya Dt)
- (9) Kahgama (S 9 R 55)
- (10) Angam (S 9 R 144)
- (11) Dantha (S 9 R 56)
- (12) Chand[ekaya] (S 9 R 1A)
- (13) Aṭṭaprisṭha (S 9 R 14)¹

Janapada ordinarily (i.e. according to lexicons) means a community nation or people as opposed to the sovereign. This Wilson has stated in his dictionary (p 410 col 2) where he has given references to the *Taittiriya Brāhmana* (ii) the *Āitareya Brāhmana* (viii 147) the *Satapatha Brāhmana* (XIII f) etc. So *Janapada* with a *viddhi* formation would signify of the *Janapada*. These seals clearly show that *Janapada* must have meant a corporate body and that Mr K. P. Jayaswal was perfectly right when in his learned book *Hindu Polity* he gave out that meaning to this term. No other proof is now needed to substantiate his interpretations. These seals of Nalanda would further show that in some cases there were two corporate bodies one being subordinate to the other and some were held in a *thana* or police station like Jalinika. These corporate bodies were distinct from what was known as *grama* or village. Thus we infer from the legends like *Sukhavadatya² grama mudra* given on the which was also excavated at Nalanda. The *grama mudra* or seal of the village seems to be distinct from the seal of a municipality or *janapada*. Such villages as had their own seals probably administered their affairs through some *parichayat* or assemblies etc. This is evidenced by the legend *Valladhiya hatta Malaya usja*. The market of Valladhiya had its own *parichayat*. Mr Jayaswal has lucidly discussed this point in his aforesaid book and I need not dilate on it here.

Seals of Offices and Officials—Several seals of officials or offices have also been unearthed at Nalanda. When classified they come under one or the other of the offices named in the following twenty three legends—

- 1 *Rajagad vishay adhikara usya* (S I 794)
- 2 *Sanglana-aya pratisthita Rajagriha vishayasya* (S I 687)
- 3 *Rajyajha vishay Pilipula nayasya* (S I 825)
- 4 *Gaya vishay adhikaranasya* (S I 829)
- 5 *Gaya malayasya* (S I 825)
- 6 *Gaya adhishthitasya* (S I 825)
- 7 *Sorata-tarala-vishay adhikaranasya* (S I 790)
- 8 *Magadha bhutata Kumar anaty adhikaranasya* (S I 795)
- 9 *Sravanabhaita Nay adhikaranasya* (S I 821)
- 10 *Aparabhutata Kumar anaty adhikaranasya* (S I 797)
- 11 *Dharata adhikaranasya* (S I 669)
- 12 *Sri Sūratya Dharan adhikaranasya* (S I 644)

[I read some of these names differently. No 3 *Elitika* No 4 *Amalika* No 5 *Ummavasthana* No 6 *Tarajha* No 7 *Amalika* No 8 *Gita* No 9 *Blatika* No 10 *Blatika* No 11 *Dantika* No 12 *Dantika* No 13 *Dantika* No 14 *Dantika* No 15 *Dantika* No 16 *Dantika* No 17 *Dantika* No 18 *Dantika* No 19 *Dantika* No 20 *Dantika* No 21 *Dantika* No 22 *Dantika* No 23 *Dantika* No 24 *Dantika* No 25 *Dantika* No 26 *Dantika* No 27 *Dantika* No 28 *Dantika* No 29 *Dantika* No 30 *Dantika* No 31 *Dantika* No 32 *Dantika* No 33 *Dantika* No 34 *Dantika* No 35 *Dantika* No 36 *Dantika* No 37 *Dantika* No 38 *Dantika* No 39 *Dantika* No 40 *Dantika* No 41 *Dantika* No 42 *Dantika* No 43 *Dantika* No 44 *Dantika* No 45 *Dantika* No 46 *Dantika* No 47 *Dantika* No 48 *Dantika* No 49 *Dantika* No 50 *Dantika* No 51 *Dantika* No 52 *Dantika* No 53 *Dantika* No 54 *Dantika* No 55 *Dantika* No 56 *Dantika* No 57 *Dantika* No 58 *Dantika* No 59 *Dantika* No 60 *Dantika* No 61 *Dantika* No 62 *Dantika* No 63 *Dantika* No 64 *Dantika* No 65 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Vishaya as I stated long ago¹ seems to have been a subdivision of a *mandala* which might be equated with the modern district. *Naya* as can be surmised from the territorial divisions mentioned in the copper plate inscription of Deva-paladeva was a division smaller than *vishaya*. The legends noted above would show that this division into *naya* was in vogue not only in the old Rajagriha territory but in the *bhukti* of Sravasti also. *Bhukti* was a much larger division. The principles on which these divisions were made are not known at present and it is therefore not safe to equate these terms with the English words commissionership, district, etc. These divisions were effected in ancient India for the sake of revenue and were not always alike in different localities. A *vishaya* must have had a chief officer to control its affairs and he was called *vishayapati* or District Magistrate. These affairs were controlled through a court of justice or *adhiharana*. Distinction was made between the seal of a *vishaya* and of an *adhiharana* of a *vishaya*. The former was more general and the latter was particular to the courts of justice of a *vishaya*. I would prefer to take *adhiharana* in the sense of a court or tribunal, for it has been used in that sense in literature and suits the context of the legends on these seals very well. There is no necessity of taking it in the sense of chief. Just as *vishayaadhiharana* would mean the court of a *vishaya* the *adhi-hithanadhiharana* would stand for the court of the principal or capital town. In the same way the expression *Kumaramaty adhiharana* would signify the court of the prince or his apparent's minister. This court must have consisted of more than one magistrate or judge, each of these officers having the same rank of a *Kumaramatya* or Prince's minister. Just as a *vishaya* had its court of justice or *adhiharana* so did *naya* have a *nay adhiharana* the *Dharmadhiharana* was the court of *Dharma* i.e. of charitable institutions. One such court was of *Trisiladitya* (S. I. 644). Sometimes a *vishaya* was taken as a whole and sometimes with a chief man at its head. That is why we have in S. I. 343 and 802 the epithet *sa pradhanasya* and in S. I. 821 *vishaya mahattama Narasamamah* which respectively mean 'of the *vishaya* together with its headman' and of *Narasamamah* the *vishaya Mahattama*. The legends like *Sonantatala vishay adhiharanasya* would mean 'of the court of the subdivision of Sonantatala' or the region intermediate (between the Ganges and) the Sonā i.e. the present Shrikubad District. They would show that the territorial divisions were not very different from those of the present day. Besides a word like *adhiharana* or *adhipaksha* would be employed in the sense of superintendent, chief or officer. To take *adhiharana* in the sense of chief or superintendent would not fit in the legend *Kumaramaty adhiharana* for what would be the chief or superintendent of the minister of a prince? There is no necessity of imagining an officer of the rank of *Kumaramaty adhiharana* in the case of a seal attached to the Tippera copper plate* and other documents for all such seals belonged to different courts of the heirs apparent concerned. No treatise having yet been found where the exact import or definition of these terms is given their true significance remains unknown. The loss of the letters

or documents to which these seals were tied is much to be deplored for had they been found we would have been able to know more than we do now regarding the official and private life in early mediæval India.

Seals of high officials Some seals of high officials named in the legends have also been found. They are very interesting in that they show how developed this art of making seals was in India about the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era. The figures or symbols engraved in relief on these seals are quite realistic. The legends written on them are as I have remarked above in Sanskrit verse just as the legends on the coins of the Gupta Kings are. They are written very beautifully and would show how the officials were devoted to their liege lord and to the welfare of the people (S I 795 and 687 etc.) In this lot there are only three seals where the high state officials are named the names being Pasupatishmha Devashmha and Sagara. They are all marked by the figure of a lion sitting on his haunches and facing the proper right. The two bigger ones Nos 687 and 795 praise the person who issues them as one who has vanquished the group of his foes is just a great fighter in the army and is a devoted servant of the king. The other one simply names the minister. No information is supplied as to the king concerned.

Personal Seals—Apart from these several seals of private individuals have been dug out at Nalanda. Instead of giving a detailed description of all of them I think it will be sufficient to put in a list of the names. Some of them bear one name only while others give more than one name showing thereby that they were conjointly issued by the persons named on them. Some of these persons must have been in repeated communication with Nalanda for several of their seals or tokens have been recovered at the site. One class consists of seals which are plain and give one name each and the other gives such of them as bear more than one name and have symbols and designs.

Monastic Seals

The seals of the great monastery of Nalanda have been found in large numbers in different areas. The majority come from the monastery marked No 9 where no less than 690 seals have been found stored in one chamber which must have been the record room of the establishment in that area. In all 775 specimens have been found so far excluding fragments. They are practically identical. The upper field is occupied by the Sarnath or *Dharmachakra* symbol usually shown above horizontal lines and the lower field by the legend reading

- 1 Sri Nalanda Maha
- 2 viharī arya bhī
- 3 kshu sanghasya

and written in the mediæval Nagari characters with an ornamental design below (Pl II b). As noticed above the insignia was an adaptation of the symbol of the Deer Park and was quite appropriate for Nalanda which caused the spread of the Law both by preaching and by writing—*'dharma ratno bhikṣana*

—and was the abode of the exponent of Dharma' *Prajnaparamitā śāhala dharma ratno sthānaya* as the inscription on the Devapaladeva's copper plate beautifully puts it. At Sarnath the Dharma' was preached by one 'bhikṣu' namely Gautama Buddha but at Nalanda hundreds and thousands of *bhikṣus* preached it and thereby spread it not only in India but in distant lands like Tibet and China.

These seals are of two kinds. The majority bear only the legend which contains the name of the monastery and the assembly of the monks who issued it. The rest add the name of the village particularly connected with the latter or some other appellation and are thus combined seals. The following seals come under the former category.

S I 1095 S 4 40 (Pl II c)

These are circular yellowish pieces. The upper field has the *Dharmachakra* insignia and the lower field under a straight line has—

- 1 Śrī Nalanda-Mulanava
- 2 karmavārika bhikṣhunam

S IA 457

Broken seal of blackish clay. *Dharmachakra* device on the top partly preserved. Legend is written in two lines and reads —

- 1 Śrī Kara[jua] mahavi[ha]
- 2 rō bhikṣhusaṅghaṣya

S I 1006

Ordinary *Dharmachakra* device on the top and two lined legend below. The first line seems to read *Trilakṣaṇaśāhala* and second [śrī *Buddhabhikṣu saṅghaṣya*]

S I 305

Circular yellowish piece upper field enclosed in the section of a circle whose ends rest on a thick horizontal line above which sits in *poṭṭasana* a four armed goddess with different attributes and below a lion above whom two horizontal lines, below these is written

Śrī Nalanda

S I 1095 (Pl II d)

Yellowish piece circular and with *Dharmachakra* above dotted line below which the legend —

- 1 Śrī Nalanda cha(or va)kra
- 2 rō V rika bhikṣhunam

S I 310

The legend seems to read —

- 1 Śrī Nalanda Mahavihara
- 2 [Gunaśra] Buddha bhikṣhunam

S I 848 (Pl II e)

Fragment yellowish with a groove like hole pierced right through showing impressions of cloth which was passed when it was tied to some document. The seal impression is on a rather circular area with *Dharmachakra* symbol and an altar, below two horizontal lines —

- 1 [ndi]hara sri Saladitya kanta-
- 2 hare chatundisiya aya ma(m)hi
- 3 bhikshusanghasya

Unfortunately the specimen is broken. Still it would show that Saladitya set up something which was connected with the great bhikshu community of the four quarters. The name Saladitya occurring in the legend would speak in favour of the list of the kings given by Hsuan Tsang¹. In the copper plate of Devapaladeva (line 39) *chatundisi aya bhikshu sangha*² is spoken of. Such monasteries were meant for the bhikshus of all the quarters.

S 9 R. 18

Small circular and oblong impressions showing the *Dharmachakra* insignia at the top and the legend

Sri Nalanda bhikshu sanghasya

below

S I. 919

Piece of reddish baled clay with one complete and three broken impressions of one and the same seal a deep groove at the back. The complete impression has one oval border line which encompasses the seal area. At the top there is a *Dharmachakra* flanked by a gazelle and under two horizontal lines in the lower field the legend in four lines

- 1 Sri Nalanda cha
- 2 tur bhagavatam
- 3 sana vari
- 4 ka bhikshu na[m]³

S I 675 (Pl III a)

Yellowish piece of clay, mostly hollow at the back where traces of three or four raised lines are still visible. Broken at the left bears four circular impressions of one and the same seal of which two on the right are entire. The *Dharmachakra* device surmounts the legend which is written in four short lines reading

- 1 Sri Nalanda [cha a]
- 2 Baladitya Gandhaku
- 3 dya⁴ Vardha bhikshu
- 4 [nam]

¹ Leal — 168 170 Watters — 104 105

For chat undisiya see *Mañjira* or *Chakya* in its universal text. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII p. 39 the Mathura I on capital script on and the Nalanda copper tree etc.

² [To me the reading appears to be — *Bhagavata* [d] [u] [an] [va] [ka] [b] [a] [ya] [m] — Ed.]

³ [The reading appears to be — *Bhagavata* [d] [u] [an] [va] [ka] [b] [a] [ya] [m] — Ed.]

Possibly the *cl a a* stands for *chaturddiś ārya bhikṣu-maha vihāra* and the legend signifies Of the Varakabbikṣhus in the Gandhakudī(ta) of Baladitva (in the great universal vihāra of the revered friars) of Nalanda

S I 938

Several specimens Black clay piece, sunk at the back Has four impressions on the obverse the central one is rather oblong and the largest It has the *Dharmachakra* device at the top and three lined legend under two horizontal lines which reads —

- 1 Sṛi Nalanda chatu
- 2 [reddiśka Samavarika]
- 3 bhikṣu saṅghasya

S I 912

Somewhat circular area at the top the Deer Park device and at the bottom a conch between these two the legend in one short line Sṛi Saṅghasya Of the illustrious Saṅgha No groove or depression or hole at the back Perhaps it was a token of the general community of the monks

S 9 R 91

Top *Dharma* device

Bottom

- 1 Sṛi Nalanda Satraḥ
- 2 Samavarika bhikṣunāṃ

S IA 442 S 9 75 (Pl III b)

Oval piece of burnt reddish clay pierced at both ends having two different impressions one on each side The one to our left is circular the areas being enclosed by two concentric circles and divided into two parts by two horizontal lines At the top there is the Sarnath symbol below a legend in three lines —

- 1 Sṛi Nalanda Mahavihāre cha
- 2 turddis ārya bhikṣura gha
- 3 sva

The impression on the left is oval The upper field is taken up by a four armed goddess Durga seated on an animal which looks more like a buffalo than a lion the lioned head is clear In the right upper hand of the goddess there is a *gada* or mace in the right lower a sword in the left lower a lotus stalk The legend which is given in the lower field consists of one short line which is mostly worn out It ends in *grāmasya* The three letters preceding this word giving the name of the village are too faint to be read with certainty

S I 1046

Some oblong pieces Below the *Dharmachakra* design we have the following legend —

- 1 Sṛi Nalanda Māha
- 2 vihāra ārya bh
- 3 kṣusāṅghasya

Several seals have been discovered at Nalanda which bear more than one legend and are evidently combined tokens. This is the case with good many monastic as well as other seals.

S I 348 (Pl III f)

Circular area in two border lines on right side. Here we see the *Dharma chakra* symbol and the legend

- 1 Sri Nalanda Mahavihara cha
- 2 turddhis aryabhhikshusangha
- 3 sya

On the left side of this sealing there is another which is oval in shape and enclosed in one line. Above two horizontal lines across the middle of this impression there is a *stupa* flanked by a tree; the one on the right side looks to be a palm. In the lower field there is a neatly written legend of one line which reads *Padapa gran-asya* meaning 'Of the village Padapag'. The village now called Padpa which is situated some 6 miles to the south of Rajgir seems to be the representative of the village mentioned in this legend; the terminal *g* might be due to reduplication. Possibly this village maintained a separate establishment at Nalanda which had this seal as its token. The seal is of baked clay and red in colour. The *saṅgha* of the main seal was the universal or common assembly of the venerable Buddhist monks such as is mentioned in the Deva-paladeva copper plate inscription.

S I 789 (Pl III g)

The Nalanda seal of the *clatur*¹ monks is here marked on the left side. The right side has an oval impression showing seated Ganesa with four hands holding in right upper hand a *paraśu* right lower rosary left upper dish of sweets left lower *aṅkuśa* (?). Below two horizontal lines separating the lower field the legend which might read *Udumbarāla gran-asya* i.e. 'Of the village Udumbaraka'. This village also must have its own establishment at Nalanda.

S I 809

It has a monastic seal like I 348 on the left side. The right side shows a smaller sealing with Ganesa in low relief below whom there is the legend in two lines. The first line contained the name of the village to whom the seal belonged. The second line reads *grāma-sya* clearly.

S I 645 and 811 (Pl III h)

Left side occupied by the seal of the *clatur*¹ monks of Nalanda. The right side has a male figure seated on a *chair* between a tree on the right hand and a *trikula* on the left. Below the two horizontal lines which separate the upper from the lower field there is an obscure legend of one line reading like *Mallīrasala grāma-sya*¹.

¹ [Reading seems to be Malli-grāma-sya] —E]

S I 836 and 807 (Pl III 1)

The *chatur*^o monastic seal on left on right oval sealing showing at top a seated goddess with a child and having a tree to her right. The lower field separated by two lines has the legend —

1 Amkothasatta(?)grama

2 sya

S I 787 (Pl III 2)

Left side as above. Right side has a pointed oval area in one border line. The upper field above two horizontal lines has a standing four armed god with a tree on his left. The lower field has a legend of one line which seems to read

Se[va]tthajhika gramasya

S I 831 (Pl III 3)

Left side as before though the area is enclosed in three lines. The right side has an oval impression showing a seated four armed deity holding a *chakra* (?) in right upper hand and *trisula* in left upper hand. The symbols of the lower hands are not clear. The legend below two lines reads

Nandana gramasya i.e. of the village of Nandana

S I 547 (Pl III 4)

Left side as above though border lines are different. The right side has a four armed goddess seated on an animal facing proper right side. The goddess holds sword in right upper hand and *trisula* in the right lower hand. A *chakra* in the left upper and an indistinct object in the left lower hand. A tree stands on each of her sides. Below two lines there is a legend reading *Dvita gramasya*¹

S I 813

Ditto. Left oval with two armed deity having *trisula* on the left. Below two lines in lower field *Mu[?]iya[?]gramasya*

S I 130

Left as above. Right smaller impression showing a goddess above and an indistinct legend giving the name of some village below two dividing lines

S I 668 (Pl IV 2)

Ditto. Right side, two armed goddess sitting and flanked by a tree. Her right hand is raised in *abhaya mudra* and the left hand holds a dent. The legend below two lines —

Tataka gramasya i.e. of the village Tataka

S I 833

Ditto. Right side in the upper field one seated god with a canopy of hoods and standing figure on each side. The lower field has a legend of one line which

gives the name of the village whose token it was. The name is not clear but seems to end in

maḥ[ra] [gramasyn]

S I A 401

Yellowish piece with a hole from top to bottom two impressions one on each side the one to left is circular and has *Dharmachakra* symbol above two horizontal lines below which the legend—

- 1 *Sri Nalanda Mahavihara cha*
- 2 *turdia arya-bhikshu sangha*
- 3 *sva*

The impression on the right side is oval the upper field has a seated male figure holding a pot in left hand and something indistinct in the right. The ornamentation at the back ground might be an aura. Below the two horizontal lines above which this figure sits is the one lined legend reading —

Vantala gramasya

S Ia 442 (Pl VI g)

Yellowish oblong piece pierced with two impressions. The one to left is oblong and has a four armed divine figure flanked by a tree having a halo round the head. The lower upper hand holds a trident and the right upper a pot (?). The symbols in the left hands are not distinct. Below two horizontal lines the legend —

Kalapinaka gramasya

The impression on the right side is circular and is identical with the one on the preceding specimen which gives *tri Nalanda ca*

S I 915

A fragment of the upper side of a seal showing on left the remains of the Nalanda seal and on right side the upper portion of an oval impression with a six armed goddess on bull between two trees holding various attributes. Below two horizontal lines under the bull there is a legend which is now partly preserved. The name of the village is not clear. It might be read

- 1 *dhyanag[ra] osha [gra]*
- 2

S I 730 (Pl IV b)

Oval baked clay with groove and flat depression at the back. On top the *Dharmachakra* above three horizontal lines forming a pedestal flanked by a deer looking to it—the usual Nalanda insignia below in three lines

- 1 *Sri Na Dharmapalade*
- 2 *va gandha luti vas*
- 3 *ka bhikshuna[m]*

Taking *na* in the first line to be an abbreviation of Nalanda it may be rendered as of the monks residing at the *gandhali* of Dharmapaladeva at the famous monastery of Nalanda.

S I 1006 (Pl IV c)

Thin piece of yellowish clay with two grooves and flat depression at back. The seal area is circumscribed by a dotted circular line. The *Dharma*° device is broken. Below this symbol there is one straight line under which there is a three lined legend which seems to read

- 1 Sri Somapala la[rīta]
- 2 [ka ?]mmeṃyika¹ vihar[ī]
- 3 ya bhikṣhusanghasya

Below the legend we see two horizontal lines and a floral design under them. The names are not clear. If they are as read here the legend would mean of the community of the venerable monks of the Kummeṃyika vihara caused to be built by the illustrious Somapala. Who this Somapala was is not known. Where that monastery was is also not known. But that *vihara* also had the Nalanda insignia is clear.

S I 1006 (Pl IV d)

Circular yellowish clay seal—two specimens—showing the Nalanda symbol at the top and the legend in two lines —

- 1 Sri Prathama Śivapura maha
- 2 viharīy [arya]bhikṣhu sangha

Below which on one specimen there is a floral design. Both the specimens show a groove at the middle and a rectangular flat depression on the reverse. The legend would mean of the venerable community of the monks of the first monastery of Śivapura. Where this Śivapura was is to be found out. This monastery also had the same insignia of the main *vihara* of Nalanda.

S I 828

Two impressions on a yellow piece of clay. One to left has the *Dharma chakra* device on top and the legend

Sri Nalanda Mahavihara etc

The legend on the other seal to right, is not clear.

S J 912

Yellowish plain impression deep sunk in the middle upper field has the 'Dharma' device. Below this we have

Sri Saṅghasya

S I 411 412

There are clay seal impressions from the same die probably. The top is marked by the *Dharma-chakra* device and the bottom by a floral design. Between them there is a two lined legend reading

- 1 Sri Nalanda Mahavihar[ī]
- 2 ya vi ra [viddhi] bhikṣhunam

The clay seals numbered S I 612 612a 27 612a 20 612a 11, 612a 6, 612a 18 401 etc are more or less alike. On the top they have the *Dharma chakra* device which in some look more like a flower than a *chakra*. This would show that the significance of the wheel began to be forgotten. The legend is written in three lines mostly defaced. The name of the congregation is not clear.

S J 1026

A small clay seal with *Dharmachakra* and two lined legend reading prob-
ably (1) Sri Nalanda bhī (2) kṣhusaṅghasya

S LA 342

Here the name of the place is not preserved The legend is three lined and reads

1 kay u

2 arya bhikṣu sa

३ न्घस्या.

Jānapada Seals

S I 374 (P) IV, 7)

Oval area in one border line upper field occupied by a seated male figure round whose head there is a canopy of seven hoods and 7 trees on each side he holds a vessel in the left and some indistinct object in the right hand Below him three horizontal lines with the legend

1 Punkt grama ja

2 napadasya

of the village community of Purika There must have been a groove which
is now filled in by a rectangular piece The seal is bulged

S 9 E 92

Circular area enclosed in a line, top has some indistinct symbol below which there is a legend —

1 ʎaʁakiya gia

2 ma [1]napadasya

‘ of the village community of Vairahya

S 9 R 92

Circular burnt red clay area enclosed in one line upper field a seated four armed goddess whose right upper hand holds a trident right lower hand has a noose left upper lotus bud left lower a vessel tree on her left side Below one horizontal line —

1. Bei ihm ist es um 19[00]

၃ မြန်မာ့

⁴ of the *janapada* of the Brāhmaṇa village. In place of *ṛ* one might read *Ṣṛ* and the name of the village might be Brāhmaṇ-ṛ. Holes all round. It is also grooved.

S 9 R 92

Oval top has a tree flanked by some vessel like symbol. Lower field has *Udradvan¹ sthane qanajapadasya* of the village community of the police station Udradvan. Holes all round. Bottom side blank.

S 9 R 92

Oval clay burnt grooved at back, damaged to its right upper field divided by two straight lines above which stands a male figure within two trees. Lower field gives —

1 Navaka(-⁴)grama

2 [ja]napadasya

(ka might be da for which cf Navada)

S I 159 (Pl IV h)

Circular area in one border line upper field occupied by a bird looking to right with a symbol (*vagra*?) above the wing the lower field has

1 Valladhiya Hatta

2 Mahajanasya

Of the traders of the market at Valladhiya (*Daha* may be the same as the modern *dih* or mound)

It is unbaked mud and has a deep groove at the back

S 9 R 16 (Pl IV i)

Oval real area enclosed in one line left hand top portion broken. Legend

1 Sri Nalanda prativa(ba)ddha Mam

2 nayika²-grama janapada-

3 svr

¹ Of the Mamuvika village attached to Nalanda. The name of the village might be Mamva or Mamlayika. The first letter of the second line is not clear. This document will prove that the corporation of the village was under the jurisdiction of Nalanda.

S 9 R 19 (Pl IV j)

Elongated oval piece with hole running from bottom to top for a string. The upper field is occupied by the eight armed Durga seated on a lion above two lines below which there is the legend —

1 Ghanañjana² grama ja [or ja]

2 napadasya

The present name of the village is Ghenuja in Gaya District where some Buddhist remains are still preserved as protected monuments

S 9 R 54

Burnt clay piece pierced right through the hole has a small piece of cloth still sticking to it showing that cloth was also used for tying seals. The piece

is oval and elongated at bottom. It has two impressions both too worn to read. The one to left is divided into two fields by means of two horizontal lines. In the upper field we see a *pila* surmounted by a knob like object possibly *braja* (?) flanked by a pointed blade. On each side of this emblem there is a branch of a tree. The lower field is much larger than the upper and gives the legend in four lines. The first line seems to start with *Sri Nalanda*. The second line seems to contain the word *devadāra*. The legend ends in *śya*.

S 9 R 133

Somewhat circular area in one border line upper field four armed goddess seated on a crocodile (?) the lower field gives

- 1 Kāli gramakī
- 2 vā janapada

S 9 R 144 (Pl V a)

Reddish burnt piece upper portion broken but impression intact pierced right through. The impression is oval the whole area is enclosed by a raised oval line. The upper field above two horizontal lines shows a divine figure probably female four armed and seated on what appears to be *maṭhara* tree on her left. The legend is three lined and given as usual in the lower field. It reads

- 1 Śrī Nalanda pratabaddhā
- 2 ngamī gramā vibara
- 3 stha janapadaśya

The name of the village is not quite clear. Of the Municipal office located in the monastery of the village of Angami attached to the illustrious Nalanda. That a Municipal office was located in a monastery is noteworthy.

S 9 R 56 (Pl V b)

Oval palm leaf impression with groove on back obverse enclosed in one oval line divided in two fields the upper gives a *stupa* which has a trident on the right side and a horned (?) animal on the left. Below two horizontal lines with dots between there is a two lined legend reading

- 1 Dantī (or Dangha) gramā
- 2 janapadaśya

S 9 R 92 (Pl V c)

Oval yellowish piece holes all round back showing thin groove area on obverse enclosed by a thin raised line upper field has two armed divinity seated on lion holding *trisa* in the left the right hand being extended in *vāra-mudra*. The two lined legend below reads

- 1 Pañchamutaka
- 2 janapadaśya

of the Municipal board of Pañchamutaka

S 9 R 1A

Oval burnt yellowish piece elongated with hole going from bottom to top. Area enclosed in one oblong raised line. The upper field above two horizontal lines shows eight-armed Simhavadani (Durga) holding in right upper fourth hand a sword right upper third hand a lotus right upper 2nd hand a bell right 1st hand stretched in *abhaya* pose left 1st *mano*? 2nd indistinct 3rd snake (?) 4th noose below the lines in the lower field —

Dhananjana¹ grama j.

napadasya

The name of the village might be Dhanañjana

S 9 R 1A

Burnt oblong piece without hole or depression at back. Impression enclosed in oblong raised line. Upper field four armed goddess seated on lion (?) lower field under two horizontal lines —

1 Chandakaya grama

2 j(ou ja)napadasya

S 9 R 1A (Pl V d)

Oblong brown piece groove and palm leaf mark on back. Enclosed in oblong line upper field four armed Mahakali (skeleton form)* facing right skull in right lower hand, dagger in left upper trident in left lower and goad in right upper hand. Her mouth is open and tongue is protruding.

Below two horizontal lines —

1 Ahkapansktha grama

2 janapadasya

S I 780 (Pl V e)

Circular piece burnt brown broken in two. Area of the impression enclosed in a circular raised line. Upper field to the left a tree with sun and moon on sides in the middle a lion to the right bull and a trident (?) and some other symbol. In the lower field which is separated by two lines there is a legend in two lines which reads

1 Jaki uakra [stina] [Suja gi]

2 [ina] janapadasya

The name of the village is not clear

S I 686

It is a round piece of baked clay elongated at the ends deeply sunk and the *obv* is rectangular. The legend in two lines —

1 Pishukalpa (?) (lp a)

2 graharasva

* [The name of the goddess is S 9 R 19 (c also e p 40) — Fd.]

* This form was taken from the legend. Pishukalpa was to be taken.

Seals of offices

S I 794

Rajagriha —Upper field Standing haloed Gajalakshmi flanked by an elephant and a corpulent seated male figure. A flag staff in a pot and flowers on sides. The Legend in lower field written below two lines in 7th century characters

- 1 Rajagriha vishay idhi
- 2 karanasya

S I 649

Fragment with a mutilated seated male figure lower portion of a flag staff in a pot and the following portion of legend written below two broken lines

- 1 Rajagriha v[ishay] idhi
- 2 karanasya

S I 687

Fragment showing lower portion of seated corpulent figure above two lines the legend in the lower field written in 7-8th century script reading

- 1 Sanghanay¹ apratishtita Raja
- 2 griha vishayasya

S I 823 (Pl V f)

Oval area damaged at bottom. Upper field occupied by a seated figure with a halo right hand seems to hold a torch (?) left hand has a narrow necked vessel. On the right there is a tree in blossoms and on the left a flower. The lower field separated by two horizontal lines has the legend —

- 1 Rajagriha vishay
- 2 Pilipinka² niyasya

Of the subdivision of Pilipinka in the district of Rajagriha

This Pilipinka is evidently identical with the one mentioned in the copper plate inscription of Devapaladeva³

S I 648 895 (Pl V g)

Circular area enclosed in three concentric border lines the middle one being a dotted one the innermost one decorated with flowers. Right hand top broken. It is pierced with a hole. The upper field has two fat males seated on each side of a tree both holding a rosary in the right hand then heads have an ornamental aura the figure on the left has a *manjalabala* in the left hand. The object held in the left hand of the other figure is broken off. The lower field under three horizontal lines gives *Rajagriha Chaturvaidya*⁴ Of the Chaturvaidya (community) (Chatur) of Rajagriha

¹ [I read Sanghanaya —Ed.]

² [See line may be Pilipinka —Ed.]

³ See Ep. Ind. Vol. XII p. 315

⁴ [I am not sure of the next line. It may be Chaturvaidya —Ed.]

S I 648

Complete specimen from a different die and deeper impression reddish burnt clay S I 806 is yellow

S I 799 820 (Pl V h)

Gayā — Upper field has a seated figure of a goddess flanked by a tree crescent to right Lower field has legend in two lines written under a serpent —

1 Gayā vishay adhi

2 karmasya

A hole passes right through it evidently it was meant for a string

S I 825

Circular reddish baked piece with a thin groove on back Upper half occupied by five altar the lower half under two lines has

Gayā vishayasya

(The shape of *ya* is noteworthy)

S I 799

Practically same as S I 820 shows the sun at the right upper corner has no hole at the back but shows a groove for a string

S I 827

Upper field above two straight lines and one wavy line shows several quadrangular marks and an impression of a smaller circular seal

Lower field under two lines in bold relief in one line gives *Gayādhishthanasya* in about the 7th century script The legend on the smaller seal has five *alsharas* of which the first two seem to read *satya* and the last is certainly *sha* The penultimate letter might be read as *u* On the remaining letters be read as *na*? In that case the legend would be *Satyādhishthanā* The seal can be of the chief officer of the Court of Justice at Gayā whose name is given in it

S 9 R 15

Left half of yellowish roundish piece showing palm leaf impression and groove at the back The obverse has right half of a divine female figure with symbols Under the right leg the legend running

1 (A)ghori mudra(?)

2 na mudra = *tyam*

This is the seal of _____ na of _____ Aghori Apparently it belonged to the Aghori cult and is interesting Aghori and Vajrayana were the antithesis of the degenerate form of Mahāyāna and the cause of its degradation The use of the word *mudra* is also noteworthy

S 9 R 79 (Pl V c)

Die with one small hole on two sides yellow clay burnt (or sun dried ?) and roundish. In the upper field there is an ornamental design with candle at the middle. Below this two lined legend in negative

- 1 Suchandadaiya¹
- 2 grama mudr=ayam

This find of a die is important. It cannot prove that the place where it was unearthed was not Nalanda. Suchandadaiya might have been a village under the jurisdiction of Nalanda. It would show that villages had also their distinctive seals.

S I 790 (Pl V j)

Upper half shows a *buga* above two lines with a female worshipper on each side and crescent at the top. The lower half gives the legend in two lines

- 1 Son anterala vishaye
- 2 adhikaranasya

Of the Court of Justice in the district (vishaya) of the Sona doab. The Sona we know is a large tributary of the Ganges. The seal would show that there was a district called after it about the 8th century A.D.

S I 798 and 804

Upper field Gajalakshmi standing on lotus small figure shown sitting on both sides. The legend written below reads —

- 1 Magadha bhuktau Kumaramatyā
- 2 dhikaranasya

S I 813 817 808 691 etc (Pl V k)

Two concentric circles with dots in the intervening space enclose both the fields. The upper field gives Gajalakshmi standing on a lotus and flanked by a seated male figure above whom stands an elephant with his trunk raised and possibly holding a lotus to offer to the goddess. The lower field gives the legend —

- 1 Magadha bhuktau Kumaramatyā
- 2 adhikaranasya

It is different from 798 and 804 in that there is no *sandhi* in *Kumaryā* and the following *adhi*² and that the figures are differently shaped.

S I 832

Identical with S I 817 except in details of figures and shape.

S I 674

Here Lakshmi stands in the upper field. An elephant on each side of her head is showering water. Her right hand is on a money bag or box and her

left hand is raised to shoulder and holds a lotus (?). On each side is shown a standing male figure guarding a money bag or box kept at the side of the goddess. Below one thick horizontal line —

- 1 Magadha bhul tau kumara
- 2 maty adbhataran[asya]

S I 784 (Pl V 7)

Circular area in one line. Grooves at back. Lakshmi seated above two horizontal lines. At each side of her head stands an elephant apparently in the act of offering lotus. On each side stands a well built man. The left hand of the figure on the right side and the right hand of the figure on the left side are shown above what seems to stand for some vessel box of riches on the right side perhaps. Lakshmi is holding the lid by her thumb and the fore finger on the right side her left hand raised to shoulder holds a conch. The lower field gives in one line

Kumaramaty adbhataranasya

The seal is yellowish and has a broad hole at the bottom going to the middle

S I 821 (Pl VI a)

Śrāvastī—Gajalakshmi in the upper field and the following legend in the lower field written below two lines —

- 1 Śrāvastī bhuktā na
- 2 j adbhataranasya

Of the Sub Divisional Court of Law in the Śrāvastī Division. *Naya* might have been a sub division of the *bhukti* or the larger division

S I 812

Circular area in one raised round line above one horizontal line a lotus set on which Lakshmi is seated cross legged, right hand on right knee left hand raised to shoulder holds lotus. Lakshmi is flanked by a curiously shaped elephant offering lotus held in trunk. Below we have

- 1 Ninnā(?)vishaya
- 2 dhikaranasya

Of the District Court of Ninnā (?). The seal is baked and has a large hole piercing it right through

S I. 797 (Pl VI b)

Upper field Gajalakshmi standing in centre on a lotus(?) with an elephant and a *nāgāṇa lalata* on each side. Lower field divided by one straight line has a legend of two lines reading —

- 1 Nāgā bhul tau Kumaramaty adbh
- 2 taranasya

S I, 816

Ditto —though from a different die. The *alsharas* of the legend are smaller and figures differ in minor details

S I 810

Ditto It has two lines dividing the fields. The legend is written in smaller letters and the face is sunken. The back has a through hole for passing a string.

S I 359 S I 803 and S I 698 838 *cc*

Area enclosed by a circle two horizontal lines above which Lishnu clad in *sari* stands flanked by a seated figure on each side whose head is elephantine and the trunk holding a vessel to pour water on the goddess and a *kalasa* on each side and below the legend

- 1 Nagara bhuktan Kumaramaty adha
- 2 karasasya

S I 669 and 787

Circular area enclosed in one circle Gajalakshmi seated on lotus flanked by an elephant offering a lotus held in the trunk. One horizontal line dividing the two fields. The lower field gives the following legend written below in one line

Dharmma adharanasya

S I 644 (Pl VI c)

Rectangular yellow piece of clay. Legend in two lines —

- 1 Śrī Bhadrīya
- 2 Dharmma dharanasya

S I 938

Black oblong piece two impressions one gives —

Vahabhandan
ka sr Bhadrabha[noh]

Of the illustrious Bhadrabhanu the great treasurer. The other which is written at the top reads

Bhatta srīa

S I 800 (Pl VI d)

Circular area in one border line. Below goddess probably Durga seated on a sitting lion with right hand stretched in *abhaya* or *vara* pose and left hand holding trident one tree on each side. Below goddess in two lines —

- 1 Dakshina merohi pashchima skandhe
- 2 sapindhani vishvīsyā

Of the district with the Chief Officer in the Western division of the Southern Meru (?) —the meaning of *meru* and *skandha* is obscure.

S I 824 (Pl VI e)

Oval area in one border line upper field occupied by a male copulant figure seated in *padmasana* under an arch holding a circular object (*chakra*) in

the right and a long necked vessel in the left hand under two horizontal lines the legend —

- 1 Kinnula vishaye Kava(or cha)la
- 2 gramī vishaya mahatta.
- 3 na Narasvamma[h⁺]

In the district of Kinnula¹ in the village of Kavala of the Mahattama Narasvamin

S I 346 and 802 (Pl VI f)

Two clay seals one red and the other yellowish—both having at the back rectangular depression with a groove at the middle. The obverse of both is irregular in shape is divided in two fields by two horizontal lines. In the upper field there is a *stupa* which is placed on a rectangular base or pedestal and has a tree to its right and some symbol to its left. The latter symbol looks like a large shaven head with two circular eyes. In the lower field there is one line legend reading *Kinnula vishaye sapradhanasya*—the final *ya* is put in the whole length by way of ornamentation. In the district of Kinnula with the *Pradhana*. *Sa* requires some subject. Perhaps assembly or community with its chief is meant.

The back shows another seal. Perhaps two seals were used when some document was despatched.

S I 718

Village seal—A fragment of baked clay the upper portion has a circular impression the area being enclosed in two raised lines with dots within them. The upper field has tree on a platform under which there is a thick horizontal line below which there is a legend reading

[Shak]ravatnaka (v) gramasya

Of Shakavennaka 'village'. The name of the village is not clear. Underneath there is another impression whose lower portion is mostly gone excepting a part of two horizontal lines and a trace of some lettering. The upper field of this impression is intact and shows two foot prints.

S 9 R 18

Seal of a police station—Circular clay seal main area occupied by the representation of standing Mahushamardini four armed holding sword trident shield and bell. The legend round her is not distinct but might be read as

dikari grame

Vasishtha sthanasya

ie Of the police station Vasishtha in the village or dikari

S I 801 (Pl VI h)

Miscellaneous—Circular (but elongated at top) area in one border line. Above two horizontal lines a male is seated on lotus with heavy ear-rings

¹ Kinnula is mentioned in the Munglier grant. See Banerjee's *Pala*, p. 58

showing three faces might be Brahma holding rosary in right and *manqala pata* in left hand below is the legend —

- 1 Praksha (?) Kalpska¹
- 2 Paravidya Brahmana

S I 830

Oval area in two lines damaged in the middle Above two horizontal lines a seated corpulent male his right hand probably holds a rosary The left hand has a hubble bubble like object The legend below shows
Lagrahara

It is baked and has a hole going from one end to the other for passing a string

S I 673 (Pl VI c)

An oval piece of baked clay with seven different impressions of which three are very indistinct The three in the middle row one above the other are circular the lowermost is the largest and in the upper field it shows a large tree with a Persian (?) fire altar to the right and a box (or *luga*) to the left below two lines

Raja Keshvanam (?)²

(Can we read *Sri-Rajavairyanam* instead?)

The middle impression shows the sun to the right a tree to the left and between these two symbols a goddess seated on lotus with a child on her left knee and serpent by the side The legend below runs—

grahara

The impression at the top has a goddess with a child on the lap and a serpent (?) on each side The oval impression to the extreme left shows a large shady tree with a symbol to right which may stand for a *luga* or *stupa* Below two lines there is a legend which seems to read

Vasishtha

but its meaning is not clear—might be a village name³

S I 691 (Pl VII a)

Oval baked clay seal with large hole passing through both ends Above thick ornamental line a corpulent male divine figure probably of Brahma on lotus seat three faces and halo are clear The figure has two arms in the right hand we see a rosary in the left a sort of spotted vessel or hubble bubble In the lower field there is a legend in two lines which seems to read

- 1 Srman Navakirumati nam (?)
- 2 Trividyasya

(Reduplication of *m* is noteworthy)

[To me read as *ms* to be *Mra* *hahhah* —Ed]

[The last letter is certainly *is* —Ed]

³[A for a supposition on this seal form to read *Ch* *ad* *rat* *um* *rasya* —Ed]

Of the *Tivadi* (*Trividyā*) of the famous *Nara Larmathas*¹ those who were clever in superintending The hole shows impressions of coarse cloth which was used for tying the seal

S I 782 (Pl VII b)

Somewhat circular seal with a corpulent male sitting on a lotus above two horizontal lines below which there is one lined legend reading —

[Vantagā]vatak agraharā Trividyā[sya]

The *Trividyā* of the *agrarhara* of *Vantagravataka* (?) The back has a depression meant for putting in something These *agrarhara* seals seem to be *Brahmanical* and have Brahmanical symbols and names on them

S I 350 (Pl VII c)

Circular area in two lines the inner space of which is dotted Above two horizontal lines a male figure with protuberant abdomen sits on a lotus seat has a heavy curving crescent to right and *Sarya* to left his right hand has a rosary and the left hand a narrow necked spouted vessel or *mangola kalasa* below —

1 Bhallatavatak agrahar[sa]

2 Sumat Trividyasya

Of the illustrious *Trividyā* the chief of the *agrarhara* of *Bhallatavataka* : Broken at the back hole pierces both the ends

S I 834

Circular area upper field has a male with protuberant abdomen rosary in right and spouted narrow necked vessel in left hand lower field below a line gives

1 grama Erni

2 vilasya

S I 352 (Pl IV c)

Oblong piece with four impressions The upper one shows a worn squatting figure above a thick line below which is the legend in one line *Veranavotay agraharasya* The three small impressions are indistinct

S I 791 (Pl IV f)

Oblong yellowish piece upper part has a corpulent male seated cross legged under canopy of serpent hoods with *linga* having a tree to left On the *linga* there is a symbol which either represents a trident or an umbrella Or it might be a *stupa*

The legend reads

1 Sri Lunk agrahar

2 Sumat-Trividyasya

S I 917

Clay seal yellowish prolate back marked with thin groove showing impression of a palm leaf possibly face sunk and divided into two parts both of which

are contained in an oblong thin raised line. The upper portion is occupied by a seated corpulent male figure whose left hand is raised towards the shoulder and holds probably a torch (of knowledge ?) and the right hand is extended near the knee. The feet are crossed and lying on two straight lines under which there is a legend of two lines of which the 2nd is worn and the first reads —

1 Meshaka(?) agrahare-

2 sja

S I 356

Somewhat circular depressed at bottom side area with 7 impressions showing somewhat identical heads.

Personal Seals

S I 367

Broken piece red baked clay with seven deeply sunk impressions. Each legend reads

1 Udayendra

2 Kavih

'The poet Udayendra

S I 296

Thin red baked circular piece of clay with five impressions the central and the one on the left reads *Juanosrimutasya*. The other three are not clear.

S I 263

Small circular black piece of clay with the legend *Bano [Va(ba)la] n'rah* with two symbols.

S I 301

Small yellow piece giving the name of *Srihasena* and having a groove on the back.

S I 278

Black clay fragmentary showing two impressions one seems to read

1 Amua

2 *śaśasya* (?)

S I 262

Fragmentary black clay seal with two indistinct impressions.

S I 398

Small black clay seal. The legend reads *Vijaya* and is written under a symbol.

S I 171

The legend may be *Sri Kumara[seva]*

S I 687 (Pl VII d)

A triangular plain piece of reddish baked clay with the legend embossed in one line

Sri Sakr. yudhadeva

S I 687

Somewhat triangular piece plain and slightly broken at bottom At top portion in one line there is the legend reading

Sri Yasahpaladevah

The illustrious Yasahpaladeva

Does it belong to the Pala chief of that name ?

S 9 R 15 (Pl VII c)

A triangular plain piece of unburnt black clay damaged at bottom pierced right through from top to bottom to pass a string One lined legend in sunken rectangular area reading

Sri Nūrayanapaladevasya

and written in late Devanagar script This might be the seal of the Pala chief of that name

S I 269

Rectangular impression the legend on which may read *Sri Virasenatah* (?) From the illustrious Virasena This legend is peculiar and unique for in place of *ya* (genitive singular) it uses *ta* (abl singular)

S I 786

Oval reddish seal sunk and grooved at back Obverse mostly occupied by a corpulent male figure on a *chowki* (?) with long ears and turban (?) the right hand is spread in *varaka* (?) *mudra* the left hand which is raised holds a conch (?) the legend below the figure reads

Tri(Tri)pa(bha)shik-a (?) *graharasiya*

Of the Tipashik agrahara (Can we read *Tri-b'ashika*—the *agrarahara* where three *bhashas* were taught ?)

S 9 R 18

Circular area upper field occupied by a standing goddess on a lion (?) eight armed holding different cognizances sword arrow etc The legend in one line —

Nandivanakiya

Several clay seals have been excavated from Monastery No 9 They are all numbered S 9 R 16 and S 9 R 91 Some of them are plain others show symbols of different kinds The plain ones give one name in the legend written on them These are their legends —

1 Sri Vo(Bu)dhmutrah

2 Sri Vovvekah

3 Sihanenah (Several specimens some with and others without designs from S I and S 1A)

4 Chandradattah

5 Dharaguptah (Pl VII f)

6 Chandra(or Clanda)pakah [*Cladapakah*—Ed]

- 7 Durgasaranah
- 8 Śrīmat Sīyadevyah
- 9 Dīpankarasenaḥ [*Dīpankarayana* —Ed]
- 10 Śakrasenaḥ
- 11 [Nara]yanapalitah [*Śilā Yakṣhapalit* —Ed]
- 12 Śrī Dharmmasenasya
- 13 Śrī Kulkakah
- 14 Śrī Svachchhabhadevāḥ (in a round line and *Śrī Deva[druta]sya* below forming a separate impression) [*Śrī Svachchhabhadevāḥ* and *Śrī Deva[druta]sya* —Ed]
- 15 Śrī Devapaladevasya (Pl VII g)
- 16 Chandragupta[h]
- 17 Apramadaḥ
- 18 Jnana[mitra]
- 19 Chandraguptaḥ and Svārbhanudevāḥ¹
- 20 Vasakasya
- 21 Yakṣhapalita
- 22 Guṇakarasiṅhasya
- 23 Vikasitah
- 24 Nīlpalah [*Yatipalah* —Ed]
- 25 Two impressions one gives Śrī Dharmasūryavarmma and the other, Śrī Patangah
- 26 Śrī Vigrahasvarah (or virah) [*Śrī Vigrahasvarah* —Ed]
- 27 Vipulakaraprabhasya
- 28 Śrī Vajrasaṅghasya [*Śrī Vajrasaṅgha[sya]* —Ed]
- 29 Ārya[Saṅghasya ?] (Conjectural)
- 30 Su[mitra] Śrīprabhasya
- 31 Barasya (S 9 R 16) [*Kunarasya* —Ed]
- 32 Kumaladevāḥ
- 33 Bhadrakīrti[h]
- 34 Ratnakaraya[sah]
- 35 Śrī Saṅghamitrāḥ
- 36 Karmitrāḥ
- 37 [Yatipal]ah
- 38 Saṅgha[mitra]
- 39 Kedaradevasya²
- 40 Sthā Bhānudevasya (*Śilā* stands for *Śāhava*)
- 41 Two impressions Sthā Manjukīrti [*Śilā [Manju]Śrī kīrti* —Ed] and Maṇḍidevāḥ²
- 42 Two impressions one gives
 - 1 Buddhāṇu
 - 2 yah and the other
 [*Śāhathatrasah* [*Hatha*² —Ed]

¹ [This name I read as *Śrī Bhānudevasya* —Ed]

- 43 Śrīmad Bhasuśiṣṇoh
- 44 Śrī Prajñanami[trasya]
- 45 Narasrayah (?)
- 46 Two impressions reading Śivasarmanah
- 47 Three impressions one shows lower portion of a figure seated cross
legged on a lotus the other has Janasrmitrah [*Janusrīmitra* —Ed]
the third is indistinct
- 48 [Puruṣabotrasya (S 9 R 16)]
- 49 Several impressions showing Buddha in *Kṛcchhīratapas* attitude and a
legend which seems to read Maṇin
- 50 Triangular piece of sun-dried black clay with the legend Śrī Naraya
napaladevayā (S 9 R 15)
(Is he Narayanapaladeva the Pala King?)
- 51 Kumarasenasya (S 9 R 15)
- 52 Samudra[sva] (S IA 422)
- 53 Dhūmagupta (S IA 419)
- 54 Indrayasah (Śaṅkura?)
- 55 Buddhavi—
- 56 Guṇakara[ti] (S 9 R 53)
- 57 Subhakaradevāh (S 9 R 53) (Pl VII h)
- 58 Śrī Samaradhīrah (R 91) [*Śrī Samaratoṣaḥ* —Ed]
- 59 Subha (or Śrūta) devah or senah? (S 9 R 91)
- 60 Manaryamanarakavīrah (Aryama in self respect—a world hero) (S 9
R 91)
[[*Manarya?* Maruloka[vua] —Ed]
- 61 Deeply sunk area two-lined legend—
Śr Dharmaśraddhā
Guṇasa(ga)nti

The following seals were excavated from Site I —

- 62 Dhavulanagari (1009) several specimens
- 63 Śrī Sakrayudhadevāh (S I 680)
- 64 Jivatṛatah (994) [*Jmuvratah* —Ed]
- 65 Damodaradeva (793)
- 66 Śrī Yakṣapah[rih?] (1017)
- 67 Śrī Yasovarṇadevāh (681) (Pl VII a) (Is he the King spoken of
in the stone inscription?)
- 68 Śrī Vo(Bo)[dh]umitasya (999)
- 69 Śrī Saigham trīh (1014)
- 70 Rakṣamīti (996) [*Charumati* —Ed]
- 71 Viśṣabhanah (792)
- 72 Three impressions one gives
Śrī Devāntīti the other Sudarsanasrayāh and the third Harsha (or
Bhaṭṭa)putra Jaṇupalaḥ (1048) [I read the third as *Bhaṭṭaputra*
Jaṇupala —Ed]
- 73 Śrīmarasīnghah (599) [*Kumara*° —Ed]

- 74 Śrī Bodhimitra (99)
- 75 Bhadrasingha (1017)
- 76 Five impressions on one circular piece one gives Gunakaraśhādra, the other Śrīmītra the third Janasrīmītra (910 A) [The legends are same as in No 87 below —Ed]
- 77 Two impressions Legends not clear look like *Lahvade* and *īra* (920)
- 78 V[ī]pulaśhva and Śuprasuśh (978) [The second name may be *Dpa* *Lośra* —Ed]
- 79 Maśha]varakaraśh (993)
- 80 Rūśhī (677)
- 81 Śūkarśhakāśya (988)
- 82 Śrīmātrasmāśya (1047)
- 83 Buddhapala (1018)
- 84 [Me]nakaśya (1001)
- 85 Lokavīrapuśhitaśya in a rectangle (1047) [*Lośśvaro* —Ed]
- 86 Two impressions the upper one gives Tara[śm]ita² and the lower one pujaśya Perhaps both make p one legend (*Taraśrītapujaśya*) the adorer of the devotees of Tara (1017)
- 87 Five impressions on one piece one gives Janasrīmītraśya the other Daradevaśya the third Śha Bhanudevaśya the fourth Gunakaraśhādra The fifth is faint (910) [Both the second and third read *Bhanudevaśya* —Ed]
- 88 Two impressions on one elongated piece Legend not clear might be Bahyaśh (1000) [Legend appears to be *Va(Ba)haga* There are several other specimens on which the name clearly reads *Dhavalanagaśya* —Ed]
- 89 Śrī Adityasena (796)
- 90 Bhattacharya Dhavalakāśh (1012 and 1017)
- 91 Śrī Ijjadevī (SI 701 A) (Pl VII j)

CLAY SEALS WITH SOME SYMBOLS AND DESIGNS

All now excavated from Site No 3

- 1 Dharmmatrātaśh with conch and floral design
- 2 Upasantaśya with conch and floral design
- 3 Dharmmarakṣitaśya with conch and floral design
- 4 Śha Bhanudevaśya with conch and floral design
- 5 Śhadevaśya in a rectangle above a floral design
- 6 Rahuśya between floral designs
- 7 Maruśaranah between lot and flower design and a scroll
- 8 Kamalaśh prabhah between two symbols
- 9 Narayanasañh with ornamental designs
- 10 Sujataśya (or Sujataśya) with a conch below
- 11 Akutlasayah between two symbols

- 12 Vu(Bu)ddhatratih between two symbols
- 13 Siladana Unless the name is *Silada* and the legend is in gen pl
°*danva* the seal is noteworthy for no other seal of a woman is
yet found from the site [The reading is *Silabhan[o]* only the
top stroke of medial o is missing It does not record the name of
a woman —Ed]
- 14 Narayanah below a flower
- 15 Jayaghoshah above a flower and below a trident
- 16 Vu(Bu)ddhamitrah under a conch and above a flower
- 17 Jina(n)trakshatava under a conch
- 18 Naga[sikhah] under a flower
- 19 Aryasripurahasya between two symbols
- 20 Dhammadiva below a conch and above some symbol
- 21 Nagasenah below a flower
- 22 Devarakshitasya with a snake and a symbol
- 23 Ahirakshitasya between sun and conch
- 24 Harshas[ngba]sya and a floral design
- 25 There are four impressions one gives [Ma]n[ku]va(h)lah between two
symbols two Pundarikah and another Virekasya [*Dhuna*(or *ne*)
kasya —Ed] Conch and other symbols are also to be seen
- 26 Suva(ba)laghoshasya and some symbol
- 27 Dharmmasiddhi[h] between two symbols
- 28 Venuvanaguptah (Venuvana is well known in the Buddhist literature)
[I read as *Vairochanaguptah* —Ed]
- 29 Tathagatah above a *triratna* symbol
- 30 Sthanikasya Of the *Sthanika* or Police officer taking *sthana* thana
- 31 Broken piece right side gives Snprabhasya and some floral designs
- 32 Kamalasripurahah between flowers
- 33 Sanghasenah under a conch
- 34 Varaguptah under a flower and scrolls
- 35 Harshadev h and flower
- 36 Stha Manjusr kritih below a conch Three specimens
- 37 Kesh(s)avapalitah and conch (S 9 R 16) [I read *Sita Yatsarpalita* —Ed]
- 38 Buddha[m]trah between two symbols (S I R 173)
- 39 S[iddha]guptasya between two symbols (S I R 173)
- 40 The piece has two impressions one gives two symbols and Nirvana
santi and the other Srisvaminah [The second I read as *Sri*
Saman[t]ah —Ed]
- 41 Stha Rahulamata[h] and symbols (S 9 R 16 and S 3 R 260)
- 42 Legend not distinct might be Sumatisiguptah ? Two symbols
- 43 Sri Sanghaguptah ? under a flower
- 44 Virasinghah conch and flower (S I A No 309) [Dhurasinghah —Ed]
- 45 Diva[ra]garabha conch and flower (S I A No 386)
- 46 Stha Gunakarendrabodhih conch and flower (S I A No 348)

- 47 Rakasridhana (S I A 395) (Reading Raka is conjectural)
- 48 Three impressions on an irregular piece One gives Sri Prajñapada tretasaranah [*Sri Prajñaparasutasaranah*—Ed] the other Stha Bhanudevasya between two symbols and the third under a conch some indistinct name of a *Sthavira* (S 9 R 53)
- 49 Reddish clay piece with nine different impressions One reads Pramoda[sena] another Buddhasantih
- 50 Reddish clay piece with nine or ten different impressions one gives Su(Su) bhamitrah the other Silabbano[h] the third Kalyanadevah the fourth Kumaraka kanti the fifth Sarvajane(ne)sah Several persons must have used one piece of clay for their seals (S 9 R 92) [I read the fourth as *Kimarendro* the fifth as *Sarvajnaglosa(sia)* and the sixth as *Udayamasugha*—Ed]

The following seals are from Site I They have symbols as well as legends on them —

- 51 Footprints or *paduka* with serpent to the right and a symbol to the left Legend below two horizontal lines—
Srimad Indrarajadeva (783) (Pl VII 4)
- 52 Sri Kallata under a flower (1004)
- 53 Sri Durliabbaraja and trident (898) (Pl VII 1)
- 54 Dharmmaghosha with conch and flower (1000)
- 55 Sujnatosya with conch and flower (997)
- 56 Two impressions one reading Tarabalah between two flowers the other not clear (1015)
- 57 Five impressions on one piece one gives Sri Manjusrideva the other Sucaritasinghah the third Samaguptah above floral designs (1047)
- 58 Dharmadevah with conch and scroll two specimens (1017)
- 59 Mulanavakrama between conch and flower May be an official seal (1011) Two seals
- 60 Yathagata-kirti with some symbols (1017)
- 61 Stha [D]hava—with symbols (1047)
- 62 Two seals with three impressions on each two read Siddhadevah, third not distinct (1019)
- 63 Sri Suravi Karma (992) [*Sri Sravinava[?]*—Ed]
- 64 Sri Kantaviryva with bull above (844)
- 65 Matrisilah with some designs (926)
- 66 *Stupa* (or *linga*) with tree legend not clear seems to read like Avinaktasya ?
- 67 Sri Vachhas below a conch (847)
- 68 Three impressions on one piece one reads Dhattaputranekasya the other Harshalasya and the third not clear (938)
- 69 Sri Kamalaprakasa under a symbol (1023)
- 70 Dharmmaghosha under some indistinct symbol (1017)
- 71 Jalasamara ? and a conch Two specimens (1017)

- 72 Black clay seal with indistinct legend (1017)
 73 Śrī Prad[ya]ditya] and a bull (835)
 74 Śrī Śva[gha?]ramasya? (822) The upper field has a lion above two lines [Reading seems to be *Śrī-Sarasungha*—Ed.]
 75 Dīpanka[ra]gūptah (S 9 R 16) Below floral design

Royal Seals

SEALS OF THE GUPTA KINGS

In all there are twenty six Gupta seals of which only one is entire except for its reverse side which is largely damaged. The obverse is oval and a thin line goes round it enclosing the legend and the device. The upper field is occupied by the figure of Garuḍa carved in high relief and perching on a rod facing front with expanded plumage his neck being adorned by a snake garland his head is human his forehead has a pointed *Vaiṣṇavite* mark and he is wearing a wig round the head. To the right we see the sun and to the left the crescent. The seal resembles that from Bhītari. I may here point out that the names of the queens of Puṣyagupta and of Narasunghagupta have been wrongly read as Vatsadevī and Lakṣmidevī in the legend on the Bhītari seal. The seal in view would show that they are Vainyadevī and Mitradevī. The fragments numbered S 1 849 169 and 855 (B) lead us to the same conclusion. So does the seal marked S I 779. These specimens are specially valuable in that they give us the correct names of two Gupta queens which were not known before.

S I Reg No 660 (Pl VIII c)

Seal of Budhagupta—Elliptical raised border nearly one half of the seal broken and lost proper left showing full face and the left side of the plumage of the man bird Garuḍa above two straight lines below which comes the legend. The back shows half of the groove and the impression of a cloth. The preserved legend reads —

- 1 Śrī gupta prapaṇtrasya Maharaja śrī Chatotrā
- 2 [cha] pūtrasya Mahārājadhīraja śrī Chandragupta pūtrasya [Lichchhavi*]
 dāuhitṛasya Mahadevyam Kumāradevyam utpanna
- 3 [sya] Mahārājadhīraja śrī Saṃudraguptasya pūtras-tat par* [grīhīto] Maha
 devyam Dattadevyam utpannah
- 4 [svyavam] apratīratīh parama bhagavato Mahārājadhīraja śrī*]-Chandra
 guptas tasya pūtras tat-pad anudīyāt
- 5 [Mahadevyam] Dhruvadevyam utpannah Paramabhagavato Mahārājadhī
 raja*] śrī Kumāraguptas tasya pūtras tat pad a
- 6 harājadhīraja] śrī Pura[gul]ptas tasya putra
- 7 Mahadevyam utpannah
- 8 Budhaguptah

S I 650, 687 (Pl VIII *bc*)

Seal of Narasimhagupta—This is a fragmentary seal in reddish baked clay. The accompanying plate will replace the description of it. The legend is written in minute Gupta letters and reads—

- Line 1 ¹[vva]m apraturathasya Maharaja sri Gupta prajpanittra
 sya Maharaja[sri] Ghatotkacha [pau]
 Line 2 ja sri Chandragupta putrasya [Li]chebhavi dauh[tra]sya [Maha
 devyam] Kumaradevyam utpanna
 Line 3 ja sri Samudraguptasya putras tat-pa [Li]grih[Li]t[o] Mahi
 devyam Vattadevyam utpanna
 Line 4 [h para]ma Bhagavato Mahārajadhiraja sri Chandraguptas-
 tasya putras tat-pa ann
 Line 5 [Dhruva]devyam utpanno Mahārajadhiraja sri Kumaraguptas ta
 sya putras tat-pa
 Line 6 [nade]vyam Anantadevyam utpa[nnah] Mahārajadhiraja sri Pura
 guptas tasva pu
 Line 7 Mahadevyam sri Vanya²devyam utpanna[h] parama bhaga
 Line 8 ja sri Narasimhagupta[h]

The fragment marked S I 687 is also a part of the seal of the same Gupta king. But the legend on it is not so clear. Nor it is so long. This fragment also forms a part of the proper left side. It is more red and shows a deep groove at the back. The effigy of Garuda on the upper field is mostly gone, only the ends of the feathers of the left wing and the claw are preserved. Here too the legend consists of eight lines which end like those on the previous specimen. The lines dividing the fields are of different length and the characters in which the legend is written are of different formation. It is evident that these specimens were taken from two different moulds.

S I 849 852 (Pl VIII *d-e*)

Seal of Kumaragupta III—This is a large seal of baked clay and darkish in colour. In shape it is identical with the Bhutari seal¹ though smaller in size. Its inner face is circumscribed by an oval line. It is only 4½ long and 3¼ wide. Other details are rather common. Even the number of lines of the legend is identical. In spite of all these points of similarity they must have been taken from two different dies for the fifth line is different. In the Bhutari seal it ends in *maharaja* while here it terminates with *maha* the following

¹ L. (entl); the missing letters read—

1 1 Sarr a r puchhet k prith

1 Krasva Mahārajadhir

2 2 sra Mahārajadhir

3 3 sra sra Mahārajadhir

4 4 d ato Mahārajadhir

5 5 la Mahārajadhir

6 6 ttra tat p d a mahārajadhir

7 7 sra Mahārajadhir

[The correct reading is Chandru. See I & P 136-7, p 137-F 1.]

² 2 4 S E Vol LVIII (1893) pl 84 F

ra going to the next line. At the same time the letters in the present case are slightly smaller.

Fleet's remarks about the language, the characters and the orthography of the Bhutari seal apply to this seal as well and I need not dilate on those details here. I may however point out that the two symbols stand for the sun and the moon and not for *chakra* and *vanika*. The sun and the moon are the two witnesses of our actions or *karmas* and to represent them on such documents is very appropriate. The sealing proper is well preserved. The right hand border and the back of the plaque are damaged. The deep groove on the reverse through which the tying rope passed is clear but does not go right through. In S I 843 nearly half of the proper right side is gone but the legend is clearer on the whole and makes the reading of the name of the mother of Kumaragupta II quite certain. Fleet¹ read the name as Mahalakshmidēvi and Hoernle² as Śrīmatidevi³. The importance of the document lies in its giving us the correct name of the mother of Kumaragupta II. Mitra⁴ we know is one of the synonyms of the Solar deity just as Kumari or Kumariadevi and Ananti or Anantadevi are the synonyms of Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively.

Text

- Line 1 Sarva rā ochehettu[sh] prithivyam apratirathasya Maharaja sri Gupte
praputrasya Maharaja sri Ghatotkacha putrasya Maha
Line 2 rajadhiraja sri Chandragupta putrasya Lichehkhavi daubhitrasya Maha
devyam Kumaradevyam utpannasya Maharajadhiraja
Line 3 sri Samudraguptasya putras tat-pargahito Mahadevyam Datta
devyam utpannas svayam ch apratirathah paramabhaga
Line 4 [vato] Maharajadhiraja sri Chandraguptas tasya putras tat-pad
anudhyato Mahadevyam Dhruvadevyam utpanno Mahara
Line 5 jadhira sri Kumaraguptas tasya putras tat pad anudhyato Maha
devyam Anantadevyam utpanno Mahi
Line 6 rajadhiraja sri Puruguptas tasya putras=tat-pad anudhyato Maha
devyam Vatsadevyam utpanno Maha
Line 7 rajadhiraja sri Narasimhaguptas tasya putras tat-pad anudhyato
Mahadevyam sri Mitridivajam utpannah
Line 8 paramabhagavato Mahurajadhiraja sri Kumaraguptah

Text of Bhutari seal

- Line 1 Sarva rā ochehettu[sh] prithivyam apratirathasya Maharaja-sri Gupte
praputrasya Maharaja sri Ghatotkacha putrasya Maha
Line 2 rajadhiraja sri Chandragupta putrasya Lichehkhavi-daubhitrasya Maha
devyam Kumaradevyam utpannasya Maharajadhiraja
Line 3 sri Samudraguptasya putras=tat-pargahito Mahadevyam Dattadevyam
utpannas svayam ch apratirathah paramabhaga

In A. Vel. N. S. p. 25

F. A. S. B. Vol. XXII (1891) p. 89

² N. S.

³ N. S. n. n. are h to l ve been an Junonir prefix of Sri before Śrīmatidevi. But as there is
over 4 line 1 in the Bhutari seal it is not taken on it.

- Line 4 vatō Mahārājādhirāja-sri Chandraguptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānud-
dhyātō Mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvām-utpannō Mahārā-
Line 5 jādhirāja-sri-Kumārāguptas tasya putras-tat-pād ānudhyātō Mahā-
dēvyām Anantadēvyām-utpannō Mahārā-
Line 6 jādhirāja-sri-Puṣyāguptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō Mahādēvyām
sri Vatsadēvām-utpannō Mahārā-
Line 7 rājādhirāja sri-Narasimhaguptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō
Mahādēvyām śrīmatī(śrī Mahālakṣmī)
Line 8 vyām utpannah paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja sri Kumārāguptaḥ

S I, 687 (Pl VIII, f)

Seal of Vainyagupta—A triangular piece of baled red clay from the bottom portion of a seal showing parts of the last four lines with a trace of an *alshara* of the fifth line from the bottom. The legend is written in well executed minute letters in low relief. It does not give any proper name except Vainyagupta.

The preserved portion of the writing reads.

1

2 guptas=tasya putra[s-ta]

3 s=tasya putras tat-pād-ānudhyātah śrī-

4 guptasya putras-tat pād ānudhyātō Mahādēvyām sri

5 paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja[h]

sri Vainyaguptaḥ

A copper-plate inscription of king Vainyagupta, which was found at Gunar-ghor in the district of Tippera, has already been brought to light¹. Like the seal under notice it is written in Sanskrit and the Gupta script. It is dated, the date being given in numerical symbol as well as in words—as 'Vartamān-āśkāṣṭy uttara-śata-samvatsarī Pauṣa-masasya chaturvimsotitama-dvayā' i.e. on the 24th day of the month of Pauṣa in the current year one hundred and eighty eight. This date which is evidently a Gupta reckoning, corresponds to Decem-ber, 506 A.D. and, obviously is the date of Vainyagupta also. This was we know, the time when Northern India was troubled by the Huns whom Yasō-dharman vanquished about this period. The trouble caused by this blood thirsty race of Central Asia told on the Gupta supremacy and caused disruption in the dynasty. The Guptas of Magadha and Bengal must have formed a separate house to which Vainyagupta belonged. The epithet of Mahārājādhirāja applied to him in the Nālandā seal would indicate that he was an independent ruler.

Maukhari Dynasty.

Seal of Sarvavarman Maukhari

Text.

- 1 Chatus samud-ātikṣānta-kīrtih pṛatāp-anurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rāja(jō) v arnn-
āśrama-vyāvaśthā-

¹ Indian Historical Quarterly Vol VI (1920) pp 53 ff and a plate

- 10 sy anujis tat-paḍ anudhyataḥ paramabha[ttā]rika Mah devī sri Yaśoma[tyaṁ]
 de
 11 vyam aḥ oṭpannaḥ paramama[he]svari Mahesvara ivasari va sri
 12 tv anukampakah paramabhittarika Maharajadhiraja sri Harshab [ti⁴]

The pedigree given in these seals is Naravardhana his son Rajyavardhana (I) by Vajrinidevi his son Adityavardhana by Aparodevi his son Prabhakaravardhana by Mahasagupradevi his sons Rajyavardhana (II) and Harsha or Harshavardhana both by Yasomatidevi. Stress is laid on Harsha's being born of the same mother Yasomatidevi (*tasyam ev oṭpannah*) who gave birth to Rajyavardhana.

Prāgyōtisha seals

S I, 362

Seal of Bhaskaravarman—A fragment from the left lower side of a seal of reddish baked clay giving portions of six lines written in Sanskrit prose and early Nāgarī script. The preserved portion of the legend reads—

Line 1	varmna sri Yajñavatya[m] sri
Line 2	tyam sri Narayanavarmma sri
Line 3	tyam sri Chandramukhavarmma sri
Line 4	mama tena sri Nayanāsobhayam
Line 5	lakshmyam sri Supratishthita-
Line 6	skaravarmma eti

The gaps in the text have not been filled in. The lettering is similar to the other seals of Prāgyōtisha and the genealogy is identical with that given in the Nidhanpur Plates² of Bhaskaravarman. Nayanāsobha for Navanadevi is an ordinary variant.

The word *Lakshmyam* in the commencement of the 5th line was possibly preceded by the term *śyama* and *Śyamaśyama* was an alternative for *Śyama* devi which occurs in the Nidhanpur plates.

S I, 387 and S I, 691 (Pl. IX a b)

The first seal has been recovered in two fragments belonging to one and the same seal. Excepting a small plain piece in the upper field and a small portion to the proper right side and also at the bottom which have been broken off and which have carried away several letters of the legend the seal becomes entire when these two fragments are joined together as is shown by the accompanying photograph. The seal is of baked and yellowish clay. Its upper part is occupied by a standing elephant whose front view is here portrayed in a highly artistic manner though the legs are not realistic. The elephant stands above a thick straight line which separates the lower field taken by the legend

² For a full description of the seal see *J. R. As. Soc. B. N. Vol. V* (1905) p. 118 ff. and *VI* (1906) p. 118 ff. and *PL. IX* (1907) p. 118 ff. etc.

which is mostly preserved. The legend is written in beautiful letters of the northern type and reads as follows —

- 1 [Sri] man **Naraka** tana¹ **Bhagadatta-Vajradattin**vayo **Maharajadhiraja**
sri **Paṅgyotish**²
- 2 [ndah] **Pulshyavarma** tat putro **Maharajadhiraja** sri **Samudravarma**
tasya tana³ **Dattavatyam** [samutpanna⁴]
- 3 [Maha] **gadhur** sri **Va(Ba)lavarma** tena jato devyani sri **Ratnavatyām**
Maharajadhir
- 4 [i] sri **Kaṣṭhanavarma** sri **Gandharvavatyam** sri **Ganapati**varmā sri
Yajnavatyam sri **Mahe-**
- 5 [ndravarma] dvya(s) tanagamedhi a haṭṭa sri **Suvratayam** sri **Narayanavarma**
sri **De**
- 6 [vamatyam⁵] sri **Bhuti**varma sr **Vṛṇanavatyam** sri **Chandramukhavarma**
sri **Bho**
- 7 [[gavatyam] [dvi]r asvamedhaya⁶ sri **Sthiravarmā⁷**] tena sri **Nayanasa⁸-**
bhayam
- 8 [sri] **Susth[ra]varma** tena sri **[Dhruvalaksmyam⁹] sri Supratisthita-**
y
[varm a]ṭa

S I 34¹⁰ (Pl IX c-d)

Terracotta plaque reddish in colour forming the proper right half of a large seal of some king whose name is not preserved. No details of the dynasty to which he belonged are to be found in the preserved portion. In the pedigree too no name is fully preserved. Owing to this circumstance it is not possible to assign it to any chief or dynasty. Palaeographically it might be assigned to about the 6th century after Christ. The upper field separated by a thick straight line shows apparently Vishnu riding Garuda as can be surmised from the plumage and the claws of the bird and the *gada* or mace symbol of the deity held in the right upper hand—the symbol in the right lower hand is indistinct but might be a conch or lotus. The legend begins like that on the *Maukhari* seals and would lead us to think that the seal is a *Maukhari* token.

The legend consists of nine lines of writing perhaps ten faint traces of the last line are somewhat discernible. The preserved portion reads

- 1 [Kṛta]s **saundh** t[il]kṛta **ṛttā**[h] pra¹¹
- 2 [name]¹² v[ya]vasth[ya]nā pravr[ita] **U**kk[ra]s **Chak**radhara iva prajanam
ṛttā]
- 3 [h]rah sri **Maharaja** [**Lakshma**]na¹³ pu

¹ Or ṛt i

² Or ṣṭ

³ Or Na n a tam

⁴ Or sv d t

⁵ The letter pra is not form part of a proper name but the 1 r of the word *pradapa* which is
faintly visible in the legend.

⁶ The word preceded by be preserved Cf S I 1 [Savara]na

⁷ The word is taken from the seal of [Savara]

⁸ [C] n [Savara] appears as a [Savara] —[Savara]

- 4 [Bhāga]vato Maharajadhiraṇṇa sri
 5 [d ana]dhyatah Śrīdevyam Vittavvadē
 6 [to] [Ma]haraja sri Jarā¹
 7 [dhyatuh*] Śrīdevyam Melyādē[vyam]
 8 [gava]to Mahārājadhiraṇṇa [pu*]
 9 ttras ta[t-paḍ anudhyatah]
 10

The names are not fully preserved. The reading Lakṣmaṇa (l 3) is conjectural. Melyadevi is a queer appellation though names like Meladevi or Melā are to be met with in the Punjab. Vittavva(bbā) is still more curious. The word Jarā reminds us of the name of *Jarasandha* of the *Mahabharata* episode. The dynasty to which this seal belonged might have been of some non-Aryan descent and that will explain these curious names. But it is a mere conjecture.

S I 691

It is a fragment of a seal like the one described above. Portions of some six lines are preserved on it but no full name is to be found in them. In both these specimens Śrīdevi stands for Mahadevi, the queen consort.

Seals of King Mānasimha

S I 841 670 349 (Pl IX c)

These are three specimens. Only one is complete. They are of a king called Manasimha². The entire one (S I. 841) is a large terracotta plaque, somewhat oval in shape the back being pierced by a hole going right through it. The face which is circumscribed by an oblong line pointed at both the ends is divided into two fields. The upper one being above two horizontal lines shows a lion with open mouth and seated on his hind legs. He faces a crescent shown above a large sun flower the figure of the sun being marked at his neck above the tail that lies curled near it. The crescent in front would indicate that the king belonged to the Lunar dynasty. The mane of the lion is curled conventionally. The lower field below the dividing lines contains a three line legend which is composed in the *Aṅgī* metre and reads —

- 1 Varna asrama dharmma vidah sva gun abhyudayaṇṇu
- 2 rampa prāritah³ [(*)] sū Manasimha nripate
- 3 1 jayati jagat-pataye bhāṣaṇi [(*)]

The totem of the illustrious Manasimha⁴ who has gladdened the subjects through the rise of his excellences and who knows the duties of the different *varnas* and *asramas* is victorious for the delight of the world.

[The seal seems to be partly preserved after a — I I.]

² [The correct reading appears to be Manasimha with from the top of a pedestal of Paṇḍitaśāhī — Ed.]

³ [The sign is on Nos. 6 and 749.]

we find documents which are of great religious value and are helpful in investigating matters of iconographical interest. They are of special value for the study of the statuary art of the period. Among the epigraphs which possess special historical importance the copper plate inscription which purports to belong to Samudragupta the mighty Emperor of the Gupta dynasty would have been the earliest—had it not been of a spurious nature. The very wording of it would show that it could not have been written in the lifetime of that potentate in spite of its being dated in his fifth regnal year. The next in date is the stone inscription of Yisovarmadeva. Whether he was the Kanauj king of that name or was identical with the ruler whose name has been read as Yasodharma I am not yet able to decide. When I wrote about it first I identified him with the homonymous king of Kanauj who flourished about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era. That time I was chiefly influenced by the form of the letters used in it—for I took it to be late. The script used in the Hōmuri (Japan) palm-leaf manuscript of the *Ushoshavijayadharani* and in several inscriptions of the Gurjari grants of the fifth century (A. D.) led me to alter my view and like Bühler I thought that an alphabet closely resembling the modern Devanagari was in general use certainly during the 7th and the 8th centuries and probably at a much earlier date and though it would seem that this alphabet was regularly used for literary purposes only it cannot be denied that at some times was employed for *śāstas* also.¹ Then I remembered the name Yasodharma which I consider to be an impossibility. Fleet was inclined to suspect the correctness of it and we have not yet found another instance of such a name—*yasa* is not a *dharma*—and we cannot expect such an appellation although names ending in the component *dharma* are to be met with. Consequently I took the name to be Yasovarmān. The contents of the record under notice allowed this possibility. Baladitya could very well fit in. Both these potentates joined and succeeded in vanquishing the barbarian *Hunas*. This king Baladitya was dead when the inscription was set up but the way he is spoken of in the *prasaśi* would show that he was not a remote ruler either in time or in distance. This is indicated by the use of the verbal suffixion of *lā* which according to Patañjali can be employed even for the events that took place very recently. The inscription was made in the time of Yasovarmadeva. Two of its verses 12, 46 are historical rather than descriptive and simply mean that Malavi made the offerings in the shrine that Baladitya had built. And Baladitya could have built that shrine some 60 or 70 years earlier. Baladitya ruled about 530 A. D. The Bhutari and the Malindi seal would show that he was succeeded by Kumaragupta II. The Sunath inscription gives us the date 154 (473 A. D.) for Kumaragupta II. That there were two Baladityas we now know for certain. One of them came into conflict with Mihirkatī about 529-530 A. D. This was Narasimhagupta (*alias* Baladitya) who flourished before 560 A. D. The inscription under notice speaks of two benefactions. The dedication by Malavi described in the *prasaśi* was an additional foundation to

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. VII p. 151
Malavi's *śāstas* III 26a

The other two inscriptions requiring special mention belong to the reign of Mahendrapala the Pratihara king of Kanauj. One of them is engraved on a miniature stone *stupa* and the other on the pedestal of a stone image of Buddha which I discovered in a private collection at Bihar Sharif in 1933 when I was in camp at Nalanda. The texts of all these inscriptions are given in their proper places. They would indicate that Southern Bihar or Magadha was included in the territory of Mahendrapala about his 4th regnal year which is the date of the latter record.

Inscriptions of a purely votive or religious nature have also been unearthed at Nalanda. These are also noticed in this chapter. The most important of these records are those which give us the text of the *Pratityasamutpada*. Most of them are fragmentary; they are incised on bricks or stones. Only two require special mention here. They are almost complete and are written on large bricks. From a literary point of view they are of a special value. The bricks which bear them are marked A and B respectively. In the case of B the whole inscription is written on one side while in that of A the top and three sides are occupied by writing. The script used is late Gupta and the language is Sanskrit. These two bricks read together enable us to make out the complete text of the *Pratityasamutpada* and of its exposition i.e. *Vibhanga*. No other inscriptional record of the *Vibhanga* or Sanskrit explanation of this well known Buddhist text has yet been found. Consequently these are unique relics. Finds so far made in other places only give the 12 *nidanas*¹ (the concatenation of causes and effects). For example the bricks discovered at Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces, the Kasia copper plate I excavated from the Mahaparinirvana chaitya in 1910-11 and the Kurruam casket inscription² give only the text of the *Patichhasanuppadu*. Both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit versions of it are known already from inscriptions as well as from literature. Several inscriptions have been unearthed at Nalanda itself which give them. The 27th *pallava* of the *Madanakaipalata* or Ishemundia gives the Sanskrit version. The hard struggle which Siddhartha had to make for attaining the *bodhi* has been narrated in Buddhist texts where the account of the happenings of the day on which the object of his life was realised is also to be found. In the evening on that day the Mahapurusha marched towards the *Bodhi* tree and met the grass cutter Siastila (Sattthiya) and got from him an offering of 8 bundles of grass. This very suitable present was turned into an *asana* which the great man occupied with resolve not to get up without attaining the real *gnana* the sole object of his life. The following asseveration shows the grim determination he made when he sat on this seat in the well known attitude called *vajrasana* or the adamant seat. Let my skin, my nerves and bones wash away; let my life blood dry up; I will not leave this seat before attaining perfect enlightenment. He kept his word and came off triumphant. In the first watch of the night he arrived at the knowledge of his former states of existence (*pūranvāsa pubbenivāsa*).

¹Proc. I. S. B. Vol. LXIII pp. 69 ff.

²[An unrecorded brick dated (Gop.) year 197 and containing the same text as in these documents has recently been found at Nalanda. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXV pp. 11 f. Ed.]

in the second watch he acquired the heavenly eye (*dīvyachakṣus dibbha* *11hu*) in the third watch the knowledge of the series of causes and effects i.e. *Pratityasamutpada Patichlasamuppado*. It is this knowledge which the text written on these bricks gives the four truths (*satya*) namely *dukkha* suffering *saṃdaya* cause *nirodha* suppression and *pratipad* or *marga* i.e. path state that there is suffering that suffering has a cause and that to suppress it one must know the right way. These 12 *nidanas* or twelvefold *Pratityasamutpada* reveal the root of the evil. When the root cause is found out the evil or real disease is easily remedied. This concatenation of causes and effects this text says is made of (1) *avidya* ignorance (2) *samskaras* impressions (3) *vijñāna* clear consciousness (4) *namarupa* name and form (5) *śādayatana* the six organs of sense (6) *sparsa* contact of the senses with external objects (7) *vedana* feeling (8) *tishā* desire (9) *upadana* clinging effort (10) *bhava* becoming beginning of existence (11) *jāti* birth existence and (12) *jara mara* a *śoka-piṭṭvāna-dukkha* *dan*, *manasy* *aupeyasa* old age and death sorrow lamentation pain grief and despondency. The world was full of misery *dukkha*; *ayon jagat* and the Mahapurusha by his continuous exertions found out the cause of the evil and the way how to suppress it. When he occupied the *vajrasana* and got the enlightenment he evolved from within two formulae one consists of the four *ārya satya* and the other of the twelvefold *Pratityasamutpada*. These are briefly expressed in the well known creed formula.

1. *dhama* *teṣa* *pibhava* *hetu* *akāsa* *Tathagato* *hi* *avodati* *Tathā* *etā* *ya* *nirodhavyavaharā* *Mahāsāmanā*

They represent the fundamental truths of his teaching and were first revealed by him to the Pancha Bhadriavargiyas at Migadava (Sarnath) when he first set the Wheel of Law in motion and later to all beings alike.

The large number of clay tablets found at Nalanda has its own interest. They were in all probability given to the pious visitors as mementos. Persons who were not rich or could not afford to erect large *claiyas* or put up costly images got these plaques and then gave them as their offerings. Some of these were given back as *prasada*. This we see at the *tilas* of the Hindus even in these days. [y]cal examples of such antiquities are represented in the accompanying photographs (Pl I a and c Pl II a). The figures and the writings they bear testify to the skillfulness of the artists who wrought them. The smaller sealings with the creed formula written on them in minute letters are found in large numbers on Buddhist sites all over India. They are deposited in small *stupas* also. In one case a miniature clay *stupa* unearthed at Nalanda got broken and one small clay sealing of this kind was found inside it. Evidently this was inserted before the *stupa* was baked. It is not unlikely that other numberless similar *stupas* which have been excavated at Nalanda might be containing similar sealings deposited in them. The creed formula gives the knowledge which the Buddha discovered and is therefore one of the most sacred things for a Buddhist. To deposit it in a *stupa* will be a highly meritorious deed for him. The *stupa* might be taken as the body of the Buddha and the formula as the essence of his divine knowledge.

The other clay tablets which come under this head bear some texts but I have not been able to decipher them. The letters in which they are written are too small and worn. A few words here and there are no doubt readable. Their photographs are however given so that scholars with stronger eyes might try them (Plate I c).

Nālandā copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta

This plate was discovered in 1927-28 in course of excavation in the north verandah of Monastery No. I at a depth of 19 ft from the top and about 1 ft above the concrete pavement of the lower monastery. It was found with the reverse side up among burnt debris in front of the door of a cell. Along with it were recovered the Dharmapala copper-plate which was lying just beside it and a few fragments of a chain armour found at a distance of about 6 ft from it. The armour must have belonged to some soldier who took an active part in the onslaught during which this monastery was burnt down. As the accompanying facsimile would show the plate must have very badly suffered from fire. Only one side of it was inscribed and the inscription comprised 12 lines of which now five alone are intact. The script in which it is written is late Gupta and the language is Sanskrit prose. It purports to be the charter of Samudragupta the great Gupta Emperor of India issued from his victorious camp at *Nrupura*. The inscription incised on it gives the second day of Vagha and the fifth regnal year of Samudragupta as its date and has no seal attached to it. *Gajasamin* the *Mahārena*pati and *Ilshapataladikṛita* i.e. the great minister and the officer appointed to the duties of the depository of legal documents is mentioned in it as the officer under whose order it was written and it ends with the name of the illustrious Chandragupta evidently the son and successor of Samudragupta. Owing to its very bad preservation the greater portion of the writing has become obscure or lost and the details regarding the grant as well as the grantee cannot be ascertained definitely. The fifth line seems to give *Pushkara* as the name of the gift-village. In tenor script and language the document is practically identical with the Gaya copper-plate which was published by Fleet long ago¹. Perhaps the executor of the grant namely Gopasvami—provided it is correctly read—is also the same person. The epithets of Samudragupta from *sarva raj oshchikettuh* (11) to *Licchavi-dauhutinsya* (14) are given in the genitive case but the attributes *Kumaravyajra utpanna* *parama bhagavato* and *maharajadhiraja sr. Samudraguptak* are put in the nominative case. This causes suspicion and I consider the document to be spurious consequently. The lateness of the script used supports this surmise.

The readable portion of the grant is transcribed below.

The *Nrupura* of this record is evidently the present *Nrupur* which is a large *manṣa* lying some 1½ miles to the west of Nalanda and comprising four *talukas* namely *Nrupur* *Chal Nrupur* *Jahulpur* and *Tijubigha*. The present status of the *manṣa* is indicative of its unimportance in early ages. The names of the *vishayas* mentioned in it are not clear. Whether the village named in line 5

was termed *Chandrapushkarola* or *Vadrapushkarola* is not certain. Possibly it was situated on a *pollara* or tank and was called after it. *Chandrapushkarala grama* is a very likely name and Chandpokhara may be derived from it.

The date given in the charter is evidently regal and would correspond to about the year 330 A. D. assuming that Samudragupta ascended the throne c. 330 A. D.

Text ¹

- Line 1 Om svasti [1^{*}] Maha-nu hasty asva javaskandhavaras Nripura vasakat
[1^{*}] [sarva rajochchettuh] prithivyam apaturathasya chatu udadhi sahi
[1^{*}]
- Line 2 dita yasanu Dhanada Varun Endr Anta[kr^{*}] samasya Kritantaparinor=nyay
agat anaka goluranya kota pradasya chr ofchehunn .]
- Line 3 svamedh alattur-mmaharaja sri Gupta praputrisya maharajadhiraja sri
Ghatotkacha puttrasya [mah rajadhi ja sri *Chandragupta* puttra]
- Line 4 sya [Lichehavi dauttrasya mahadevyam Kumaradevyam utpannah
parama bhagavato maharajadhiraja sr *Samudraguptah*]
- Line 5 vaishayika [Chandra ?]pushkaraka grama Kurinada & vaishayika
gora pu pra lu
- Line 6 matapitror atmanas cha puny
- Line 7 tadya sha
- Line 8 samachita gra[m^{*}] pratyaya hirany
adaya deya na chaistat]pra
- Line 9 bhinty anēna dya danyagram adi karada kutumbi karukadayah
pravesyitavya [a]nyath anyatam agrahar akshepa[h]
- Line 10 syad iti Samh(v)it 5 Magha di 2 nivaddha[m^{*}]
- Line 11 [Any]gram akshepata adhikrita mah sanapata mahav(b)aladhikrita
[Goprasajm(m)] asisa hiktam
- Line 12 [kura]ja sri Chandragupta[h]

The stone inscription of the reign of Yasōvarmadēva

This important document has already been published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*² where I have discussed in detail all the main points which it discloses. I need not recapitulate what has been stated there. For the sake of ready reference I would like to give here only the text and translation of it.

Mention might be made here of another *prasasti* of this kind which was found at the village of Ghosrawān long ago and was finally published by Kielhorn. The tone and wording of these two *prasastis* are very much alike and I am led to think on that account that the composers were indebted to one another. The Ghosrawān *prasasti* mentions a *Yasovarmanapura-vihara* which in all probability was founded by the king Yasovarman himself. A number of beautiful Buddha sculptures still lying at different places in this village would show that the locality was once in a flourishing condition and had many followers of Buddhism residing in it. That *Yasovarman-vihara* was an important

¹ [For a more complete text see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXV p. 30 and I. Ind. Ed.]

² Vol. XX, pp. 43 f. and Pl. 1.

monastery would be inferred from the fact that *Viradisa* of *Nagarahara*, as stated in the *prasasti* came to pay a visit to it. The tradition current among the elderly folk in the village connects Bargawan and Tittaraman a large village some two miles to the north of Ghosrawan and Ghosrawan together saying that they all belong to one period. If conjecture is allowed Ghosrawan might be identical with Yasovarman vihara and in Tittaraman one might find a recollection of the Tatarian who came this side in the reign of Yasovarmanadeva like the *pratita Tikana* of the inscription of the time of Yasovarmanadeva. For the sake of comparison the text and translation of the Ghosrawan *prasasti* will be given below.

Text

- 1 Samsara sthira va(ba)ndhanat kṛta matir mokṣaya vo dchinnam I aranye it-
prasabha u sariram p jo datva tutosh arthine [1*] s Indiar yah sva
srik kṛta makari ghrisht amalā
- 2 padmah surus tasmā sarva pad itih tatva(ttā) vidushe Vu(Bu)ddhaya
nityam namah || [1*] [1*] Sarvesham mūrdhni datva padam avambhri-
tan udgato bhuri dhama nistura u sa pratana pradita nikhil ar ti gho-
- 3 r andhakurā [1*] khyatō jo loka pulah salila vsumati pīdmmu v(b)ūdha
lutuh sriman Bhāvan iv uchchais tapati dīsi dīsi sri Yasovarmanadevah
|| [2*] || Tasy asau purama prasada ma-
- 4 hitah sriman udar asyāh putro mangapateh pratita Tikā odichipatei
mantrinah [1*] Malado bhuvā nandaro melamano jo V(B)andhumatyas
sudhir dīsa paṇipuran a-
- 5 ka chāturo dhīro viśuddh anīyati || [3] [1*] Y asav urjita vāri bhū
pravigalad dan amv(b)u pan ollusu madyat bhī nṛga kai indra kṛtibha dalana
prapta sriyam bhūbhujam Malanda ha-
- 6 sūta iva sarva nṛgaūh subhī abhira gaura sphurach chānti amsu prakāś sad
āgama kala vakhyata vidvā jana || [4] [1*] Tasya samav(b)udhar vālehi
silhara sūta va-
- 7 har iva mahā av ordhva vīrajini vīachati dhātā manojā bhūvāh [1*]
nānī ratnā majā kha jalā khachita prasada devahya sad vidyadhīna sangha-
- 8 ranyā vasatī dhatte Sumeroh sriyam || [5] [1*] Atr isa(hyā) jana kṛma
pranayini pita nīhil v vidvāho I (B)ab ditya mahamipenī sal alama bhūktā
cha bhū mandalini [1*]
- 9 prasada samahitā yam bhāgavatah Sauddhodaner adbhutah Kulas
abhibhāv echchay eva dhavalo manye samutthapitah || [6] [1*] Api cha ||
Njak kurāvan Inda kantan Tittarangi
- 10 r srah kṛmī sobhīn nīrasya sa subhram itisa Gangā tad anta mahāyan
mūlāyān v di sindhun mā vācchavā sunye bhūvāna ita vīthā
bhūntar ity āka-
- 11 layya bhānti I Ishonno aśeshau pita vipula yasa stambha uchchais sthito
va || [7] [1*] Atr dayā(ī)vedyam ayyā dadhimad dipas tathā bhāsan
chatur jūta kṛmī mūlān amala-

- 12 n toyam sudha sitalam(m) l sakhvi ch dshaja nivil l bhagavate
V(B)uddhaya suddh atman *Udala lena* yathokta-vansa yvasa t n a ti bha
ktj t svayam(m) || [8 ||]*¹ Adesat sphita ala sutu dhavala dhi
- 13 yo bhishu sanghasya bhuyo dattam ten arva samyag vibhva glanta
dadlabhur vyanjanu yuktam(m=a)manam(m) l Bhikshubhye tach chaturbhyo
lahu samabhi chatur-jatak amochi mtyam toy uo satre vibhaktam
punar api
- 14 vimalam bhishu sanghava dattam || [9 ||]*² Ten arv adbhuta l ummana
njam iha kutv a[rva] Sangh utikan mukta chivankam pradaya vi
dhim samanyam ekan tatha kalam prarayitum sukhe
- 15 na byanan dattam sva desam vina tebhyo *Nardarah*-vadhes cha para
tah Sakyatvay-bhyah purah || [10 ||]*³ Danam yad etad amalana
guna sah bhikshu *Purnendrasena* vachana pratibodhitena l tena pratita-
- 16 yasas bhuv Nirmalaya bhritia vyadhaya sarad Indu nibh ananayah
|| [11 ||]*³ Pitror bhratuh kalatia svasti suta sulmdan tasya dharmam
uka dhanu dattam danam vad etat sakalam ati rasen ayur a
- 17 rogya hetoh l sarveshan janmabhajam bhava bhaya jaladheh para samta
ran artham smat-Samv(b)odhu kalpa druma vipula phala praptaye ch
anumodyam || [12 ||]*⁴ Chandro yavach shakasti sphurad nru
kirano jg
- 18 ka dijas cha Bhasvan esha yavach cha dhata sa jaladhi velaya dyau
s chi datt avakasa vavach ch autmahanto bhuvan bhara dhuran
dharayanto mahadhas tavich Chandi-avadata dhavalayatu dham na
- 19 ndalam kirtit esha || [13 ||]*³ Yo danasy asya kashit krita jagad
avadher antarayam vidadhyat saksl ad *Yagrasanulho* Jina iha bha
gavan antustash sad aste l V(B)*aladibhena* rajna pradhita m
- 20 puni sthapitas ch aisha sasta pafich ananta[rya] kartu ggatani ati visha
man dharmahinuh sa yayat || [14 ||]*³ Ity=evam *Silachandra* prathi
ta karanika *Svamidattai* alanghyam Sangh juam muddhu kriva sutu
lava
- 21 vibhavav apy analochya bharam(m) l hrudyam etam udaram tyantam
akrutam apiapancham prasastu vanchhetan kin na pangu sikhari
tara phal avaptum uchchah karena || [15 ||]*³

Translation

(V 1) Continual salutation to the Buddha who made up his mind to emanci-
pate living beings from the strong tangles of the world and who felt exceedingly
delighted after giving (*his own*) body to the supplicant whose foot-lotus is rubbed
by the gods including Indra with the small *mahara* figures (*engraved*) in the di-
dems on their heads and who is conversant with the real nature of all the cate-
gories

(V 2) The illustrious prosperous and highly glorious *Yasôvarmmadeva* has
risen after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings and has completely

¹ *Mete Su aulartit d la*

² *Mete Sragdhara*

³ *Mete I prantat Tala*

removed the terrible darkness in the form of all his toes by the diffusion of the rays of his sword. He is the celebrated protector of the world and the cause of the excitement of all the *Pādumī* women of earth. He shines above all in every quarter like the resplendent Sun who has risen after spreading his ray on the tops of all the mountains and has torn asunder by the diffusion of severe rays the foe in the form of terrible darkness who is the well known protector of the world and cause of the blooming of all the lotuses of the earth.

(V 3) **Mālada** was the illustrious and magnanimous son of the well known **Tikma** (i.e. *Tegin*) who was his (Yasovarmadeva's) minister, the guardian of the frontier and ruler of the north. He (Mālada) the unrivalled and quick subduer of the enemies, fulfiller of the desires of the supplicants on the earth, resolute of stainless family and the son (literally gladdener) of **Bandhumati**, was honoured by his (Yasovarmadeva's) great favour.

(Vv 4-6) **Baladitya**, the great king of irresistible valour after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth created as if with a view to see the **Kālisa** mountain surpassed a great and extraordinary temple (*prāsāda*) of the illustrious son of **Sūdhodhana** (i.e. the Buddha) here at Nālandā. Nālandā had scholars well known for their (*knowledge of the*) sacred texts and arts and (*was full of the*) beams of the rays of the *dharmas* shining and bright like white clouds. She was (*consequently*) mocking as it were, at all the cities of the kings who had acquired wealth by tearing asunder the temples of the great elephants surrounded by the shining black bees which were maddened by drinking the rut in the hostile lands. She had a row of *śālas* the hue of whose tops touched the clouds. That (*row of śālas*) was so to say the beautiful festoon of the earth made by the Creator which looked resplendent in going upwards. Nālandā had temples which were brilliant on account of the network of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and the virtuous *Saṅgha* and resembled **Sumera**, the charming residence of the noble *Vidyadhara*s.

(V 7) (*The prāsāda*) after having gone round the earth and on finding as it were that it was a useless wandering when this world had no other structure to be conquered (surpassed) stands aloft as if it were a column of the great fame it had won scoffing at the lustre of the moon disregarding the beauty of the rows of the summits of the **Snow mountain** (*Himavata*) sending (i.e. throwing into the shade) the white Gauges of the sky and then turning dumb the streams of disputants.

(V 8) Here Mālada of the above mentioned family and fame himself brought with great devotion for the pure Lord Buddha the pious permanent grant pure water as cool as nectar and mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects as well as the shining lamp the offerings of clarified butter and curds.

(V 9) Under the order of the community of friars of bright intellect, great piety and learning he again distributed daily in a fitting manner rice with (*fragrant*) preparations, curds and copious *dhacca* to the four monks.¹ He again gave

¹ It may mean 1 from north to 4 quarters.

to the assembly of monks the pure and highly fragrant water perfumed with the four¹ objects (scents) and distributed daily at the *saṭṭa*

(V 10) He (Māḍa) whose deeds were wondrous purchased (*everything of*) his own here (at Nalanda) from the revered *Saṅgha* and gave it back (*to the bhikkhus*) according to rites barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the *Sāṃya* (i.e. Buddhist monks) a common dwelling place (*wherein*) to spend time happily up to and beyond Nāḍḍanik excepting a place for him self.²

(V 11) This stainless gift has been made by him who is the brother of Nirmala whose face resembled the uttaranal moon. His fame is spread over the world and he has been awakened by the words of the monk Pūrṇendrasena, who shines by his excellence.

(V 12) All this gift has been given with great devotion for the sake of the welfare and longevity of the parents brother wife sister son and friends of him (i.e. Māḍa) who is the sole repository of virtue. May it be approved so that the living beings might cross the fearful ocean of the world and attain the great fruit of the Wishful Tree in the form of the sacred Enlightenment (*Bodhi*).

(V 13) As long as the Moon shines and the Sun the lamp of the world with his lustrous and extensive rays (*sheds light*) as long as this earth together with the encompassing ocean endures and the sky which gives space lasts and as long as these great mountains bearing the yoke of the world remain so long let this *dhīra* which is pure like the Moon whiten the circle of (*all*) the quarters.

(V 14) Whoever interferes with this gift which has to last as long as the world endures will void of virtue as he is have the dire fate of one who commits the five sins — (*let him know*) that the Lord Jina (the Buddha who occupies the adamant seat) is here ever present within us and that the great king Baladitya has established this image of the Buddha.

(V 15) Thus Śiśachandra and the well-known Kāśmīra Svamidatta having placed the order of the *Saṅgha* on their head without considering the weight (*of responsibility*) composed at once this beautiful and sublime though simple *prasaṅga* although the wealth of their knowledge is small — for will not even the cripples wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by (*raising their*) hand?

Shahpur stone image inscription of Ādityasena

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1882 when General Cunningham published his reading of the text and gave a translation of it as well as a lithograph³. Fleet reedited it in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Its text and translation given by him run as follows

Text

- 1 l h l d h g chandra kshiti kalu i yavat p[r]atipaditam[†?]
 2 Om Samvat 60 o Marga su di 7(?) asyen divasa msa samvatsar-amipuryam
 sri Adityasena
 3 [deva] raj[ya]l Na(?)landa(?) mah agrahare sadh[un]i va(la)l idhikrita
 Sālapakshēna de[ya*] dharmmo yam pratishthitani(h)
 4 [matapitrōr-aj]tananas cha puny abhividdhaye []

Translation

has been granted to endure for the same time with
 and the moon and the earth
 Line 2 Om ' The year 60 (aśv) 6 (the month) Marga the bright fortnight
 the day 7 (?)—on this (*lunar day*) (*specified*) as above by the day and
 month and year—in the reign of the illustrious Ādityasena, the
 this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous Sālapaksha,
 the *Baladhrīta* in the great *agrahara* of Nalanda (?) for the
 purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of
 himself

The record shows that the image which bears it was originally set up in the
 great *agrahara* of Nalanda by Sālapaksha the virtuous commander of an army
 (*Baladhrīta*) in the reign of Ādityasena of the family of the Guptas of Magadha
 in the 66th year of probably the Harsha era (672-73 A. D.) The description
 given by Fleet would indicate that the image wherein the inscription is engraved
 represented the Sun deity and was not Buddhist. The mention of *agrahara*
 in place of *vihara* would support that view and make it Brahmanical. Several
 seals have been found at Nalanda which mention some *agrahara* or gift village
 in lieu of a monastery and bear symbols which are more of a Brahmanical than
 Buddhist nature. The fact would lead us to surmise that Nalanda was not
 an exclusively Buddhist habitation but must have had Brahmanical establish-
 ments also about the 7th century after Christ. That solar worship existed there
 about that age is evidenced not only by this coin but by some other images also
 which have been recovered at the site and are now deposited in the museum which
 the Archaeological Department has organised at Nalanda. I have already noticed
 this point above.

The Kapatiya Vagisvari image inscription of the time of Gōpala

This inscription was first noticed by Cunningham¹ who described it as incised
 on the image of Vagisvari which was found in a collection lying in a temple at
 Kapatiya a hamlet near the site of Nalanda. Neither any temple nor a collec-
 tion of images is to be seen now at Kapatiya. Where the image bearing this
 inscription now lies is not known.²

¹See A. S. R. Vol. I p. 36 plate x. Nalanda Vol. III p. 16. E. D. Bane p. 1. *The History of Bengal* p. 6. and N. N. Chakravart. *Indian Epigraphy* title II. In *Mon. J. I. S. R. (N. S.)* Vol. IV p. 16. plate III.

²[The inscription is preserved in the Indian Museum Calcutta.—Pd.]

Text.

- 1 *Samvat* 1(?) *Āśvina* *su* *di* 8 *paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramē-*
svara-sū-Gōpāla *lājān* (?) *sū Nālandāyān*
 2 *śrī-Vaṣiṣṭhā* *bhāṭṭārikā*¹ [*suvarṇa-vrīṇi* *śaktā*]

The *P M P* *Gōpāla* king mentioned in this record is believed to be the second *Pāla* king of this name Cunningham and Kielhorn took him to be *Gōpāla* I

The Nālandā copper-plate of Dharmapālādēva

This copper-plate was found along with the copper-plate of *Samudragupta* which has been noticed above. It is also bent, the inscription which it bears has suffered very badly especially the reverse or the back side of it where excepting a few letters here and there the whole writing has disappeared.

The plate measures about 10½" by 7½" leaving the seal which is soldered to it at the top. Both of its sides are inscribed. The obverse seems to have 24 and the reverse not less than 12 lines of writing. The readable portion of the charter is written in Sanskrit prose and in early *Devanāgarī* characters. The seal bears the legend *Śrīmān-Dharmapālādēva* which is engraved between two straight lines and above a floral design. Above the legend is formed the usual *Migadāya* emblem found in the *Pāla* records. Unlike the *Khalimpur* grant the record at once starts in a business-like way with *Om sampattī-upātta-jaya-śabdāḥ* making no mention of the *Vajrasana* or *Buddha*. The name of the place whence the charter was issued is written after the words '*jaya-śabdāḥ*' but is obscure. The expression *vāsakūt śrīmaj-jaya-śāndhāvārāt* is however preserved.

The object of the charter is to register the gift of a village by the *Pāla* king *Dharmapālādēva*, though the name of the village and of the grantee is not clear. The name of the father of the donee is, however, clear and reads *Dharmadatta* (8th line from the bottom of the reverse side). It is also clear that the gift village lay in the *Gayā vishaya* and in the *Nagara-bhukta* or division. The text as far as it can be made out reads:—

Text¹.

Obverse

- 1 *Om svasti* | *mahanau-hasty-asva-ratha-patta-sampatti*(tt)*y-upatta-jayasavdā* (*bdā*).
 2 *vāsakūt śrīmaj-jaya-śāndhāvārāt* *prama-*
 3 *saugatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī Gōpālādēva-pād-ānudhyā-*
 4 *toḥ paramēśvaraḥ parama-bhāṭṭārikō mahārājādhirājah* *śrī*
 5 *mān Dharmapālādēva* *kuśalī Nagara-bhukten Gayā-visha-*
 6 *y āntahpati-Janika*(?)*nadī-vrīṇi pratrī*(h)*addha-Nigraha*(?)*grānāsannā*

¹ [For fuller text see *J. P. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII pp. 291 f.—Ed.]

- 7 ntalarāma ' gramakah samupagātān (sa)ṛvān eva rajā rajanī
 8 ka rājaputra rājanītya mahakṛttakṛtaka mahādandanayī
 9 ka mahapratihara mahasamanta maharaja dāhissadhasadhamka
 10 pramatri sarībhanga kumaranītya rājasthany oparika vishaya
 11 pati d sapu dhika chāmoddharīka dandika dandapīṣika kṣha(kshē)
 12 pala tadayuktaka vinīyuktaka hasty asv oshtrī va(ha)ṛī ya
 13 [pntaka] kṣōṇa vadiva go mahīshy adhīl ūta-dūtā presthānī a gama
 14 [gami]k abhīvatīam unaka Gauda Mūḍha kṣha kṣhīka Huma bhata
 15 dān-angon(ma)ś ch akṛttatān sva pada pīdm opajītmah prī
 16 vṛa(bhā)hman oṭṭīkan mahattara kutumbī(ubī) purōga mād
 indha chanda
 17 la mīṣḍr*]tem yath oparīkṣhita ūta
 18 gochara parvantaś o oparīkara
 19 roddharīnś sarvā pīda parīkṣita
 20 pragrahya rājā bhīṣyam sarvā pī
 21 mī chandī arka kṣhīka samakāla
 22 dān vṛa(bhā)hman deya varjītō mīya
 24 bhīṣiddhaye vandy acharya Dhamma
 24

Reverse

- 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30 datta didasānīśa
 31 Dharmmadatta putrah
 32 chatuḥśaṣṭīka
 33 prīkṣhpa
 34 jī
 35 ka
 36 kta

Fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Dharmapālādēva (Pl. X, a)

This inscription is incised on the rim of a sculptured *stupa* which is only partially preserved. The *stupa* is made of the well known Gayā stone and bears a number of seated Buddha figures carved on it. The inscription must have continued on the remaining portion of its drum and is beautifully engraved. The language in which it is written is Sanskrit verse and the alphabet is early Nāgarī though some ancient forms of letters like the *ṛ* vowel in two circles surmounted by a stroke are also seen in it. Two fragments have as yet been recovered and are lying in the Museum. The fragment marked No. S III 74 (1 7" × 2½") appears to be a continuation of No. S III 73 (1 1½" × 2"). The commencing portion is now missing. The fragment marked 73 gives two

As long as the sun shines roaming in the sky (lit the tank of the sky)

It was set up for the usual religious merit by the local artisans Kesi Savio Volkaka and Vijata who are revered like the Vapa Sanku—or Sangha?)

(S 4 103) (Pl X b)

This is the earliest inscription of the reign of Devapaladeva yet discovered at Nalanda. Like his other records it is also written in Sanskrit and Nagari. It consists of four short lines three of which measure 4 1/2" and the fourth which is written in a corner measures about 1 1/2" only. It reads --

1 Ūm sri Dēvapalo rajye samvat 3 Rajagri(gu)ha v
2 sa(s)ha)ye Purika gramā nivasinah Kalchurā antuke
3 ka (?) patni Vihakaya (saha)jannā(janam) (?) sri Nalandayam^o pū
4 tīraditah |

On the third regnal year of the illustrious Devapala Vikkhita (Vishakha ?) the sole wife of the destroyer of the Kalachurus ' The resident of the village of Purika in the district of Rajagriha together with the people (?) set up as the famous Nalanda

If the reading of the name is correct it would show that the donatrix's husband was a great warrior who must have routed the Kalachurus in the 3rd year of the reign of Devapaladēva. *Kalachuri arala* does not appear to be a proper name.

This inscription has already been published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*³ where the description of the statue on which it is engraved is also given. The writing on the pedestal is of historical importance. The rest inscribed on the figure itself consists of a *mantra* and the creed formula. The text of the main inscription is written in three lines running round the *pitha* in three divisions and is given below. It is dated in the reign of Devapaladeva, the famous Pal king of Bengal, and is written in Sanskrit language and Nagari script. Its object is to record the consecration of the image on which it is inscribed in the 36th regnal year of Devapaladeva by the lay disciple Gungadhara at the instance of (?) the great monk in Mañjuśrīdeva or the Mahavihara of Nalanda for the attainment of the excellent knowledge by his unrivalled teacher, parents and all sentient beings.

² The context is not clear.

[1] 331 read as *Hidagiti* [ʰo grā u n dō t̪ə kɔkɔt̪ r̪ t̪u [t̪u]ʰ i p̪it̪u] (*t̪u* [t̪u]ʰ i p̪it̪u = *t̪u* [t̪u]ʰ i p̪it̪u) The last letter *ta* n l 2 was apparently scored out being superfluous — 1.]

² Vol. X (1911) pp. 31 ff and 11 to opp. p. 32.

Text

- 1 [Om] Samvat 40 sri Devapaladeva vijaya rajye sri Nalanda Mahavihara(ika) stha-
va(b)hna sutta sri Udayasti deva¹ sangha pada
2 m² p² s² k² Gai gadi arasvi dev dharmmo yim [i²] yad arti (ti) pun(n)va[m²] tad
bhavatu ubha[rya] 'jm itipiti purvva[ngamam] kaitva sakala sri
3 [ti]a] rish(s)re¹ 'hnuttra jalam vyapta(m n p²ti) ita ||

A votive inscription of the reign of Devapaladēva

(Pl XI f)

Another inscription of the reign of Devapaladeva mentioning Nalanda is incised on the back of a female image which was excavated from the site and is preserved in the Nalanda Museum as S I 372. It reads —

- 1 [Om] sri Devapaladeva rajye
2 Rmagriha viharo sri Na
3 la da mahapatik(i) vastava kumbha Vadeva(?) pu(ut)tra
4 (Goruka?) pu(ut)tra Ujadesuka kumbha kumbha sri
5 sri Devapaladeva mib(tu)²

The name of the donor or donors mentioned in it is not clear. So also the name of his father and grandfather. Apparently the terms *kumbha* and *kumbha* in the inscription stand for *kumara* and *kumari* meaning prince and princess respectively and not for *kumbhakar* and *unbhakar*. The meaning of *Mahapatika* is to be determined. I think it is a great division. The evidence of the seals described above would show that Nalanda had its own administration. The district of Rmagriha seems to have formed a part of the territorial division which had Nalanda as the headquarters.

The Sankarshana image inscription of the time of Devapālādēva

(Pl X f)

This is a three lined votive inscription written on the pedestal of a bronze statue of standing Sankarshana. The image is preserved in the Nalanda Museum and is marked S L 342. In script and language it resembles the preceding records like which it also belongs to the reign of Devapaladeva. The word *rajye* seems to have been left out after the name of the king. What I read is *bhadr* (*bhadr*) at the end of the first line might be taken as an adjective of *rajya* or of Devapaladeva himself (in the auspicious reign of or in the reign of the blessed king Devapaladeva). Other proper names given in the record are not certain.

- 1 [Om] sri Nalanda (m) sri Devapaladeva bhadr

¹ [Read as p² s² k² to n — la]

² [It is s² p² s² k² to n — la]

Line 2 ma[ha] therasya sri Da(or U)jjakasya Padu(d)madanasmha

Line 3 raya devadharmma(o) ya(yam) prati(ta)padu(i)tt(t)ah¹

In Nalanda when the Blessed and illustrious Devapaladeva (was ruling)
Of the great *Nihavra* Da(or U)jjaka For Padmadanasmha this pious gift
has been made

The Gōhsrāwāñ stone inscription of the reign of Devapālādēva *

Text

- 1 Ōm Śrīmaṁ uśaṁ jayati sat[t*]va īrta pravṛtta san manas adhgata tat[t*]va nayo
Mumndrah | kles atmanam dunta naktā durasād antah sansa(insa)ra sagara
smituta
- 2 ran aika setuh || Asy asmad guruvo va(ba)bhuvar iva(balah) sambhuya harttum
manah ka lajja yadi kevala na va(ba)lavan asmi triloka prabhau | ity alocha
yat-e
- 3 va Munasabhuva yo durato varjitah smān visvam asesham etad vataḥ Vo
(bo)dhu Sa vijrasanah || Asty Uttarapatha vibhushanī bhūta bhūmī des
ottamo Na-
- 4 garahara iti pratitah | tatra dvijātir-udit-odita vāsa(insa) janma namn Eudri
gupta iti raja sakhio va(bi)bhuva || Rajj[e]kaya dvija varah sa gum gri
- 5 hinya yukto raruja kalay amalava yath enduh | lakṣh pavitrata kathi pari
bhavinasu sukirtitnam prathamam eva karoti yasyah || Tibhyam aja
- 6 yata sutah sutiram vivek yo va(ba)li eva kalitah para loka va(bu)ddhyā | sarv
opabhoga subhage pi grihe viratitah [pravraj]yaya Sugata sa-anam abhyupe
(pai)
- 7 tum || Vedan adhitya sakalān kṛta sastre chuntah smat Kamshkam upa
gamyā maha-viharam | acharva varyam atha sa prasama prasasyam
Sarvvajñasantim anugamyā
- 8 tapas chuchara || So yam visuddha guna sambhrita bhūmī kirtteh sishyo nurupa
guna sila yaso bhūramah | v (ba)lendu vat kah kalanka vimul ta kintir vand
yah
- 9 sada mun janair-api Viradevahi || Vajrasanum vanditum ekad: tha smān
Mahavo(bo)dhum upagato sau | drashtum tato gat sahados[i] bhikshun sri
mad Yaśovaruma-
- 10 puram viharam || Tishthann ath cha suchuram pratipatti sarah sri Devapala-
bhuvanadhupa lavdhu(bdha) pujah | prapta prabhah pratidin odaya purit-asah
push eva darita
- 11 tamah prasaro raruja || Bhikshor-ātma samah suhrid bluja iva sri Satyavo
(bo)dher nyo Nalanda paripalanaya niyata sangha sthāt yah sthitah |
yen atau sphu
- 12 tam Indrasila mukuta sri chaitya chūḍamani samanya vrata sam(n)vritena
jagatah śreyo rtham utthapitau || Nalandaya cha paripalitay cha satya smān

[I read *De apalad va ha* & [ma]kharasya & Ujjakasya padu[ni] & raya devadharmmaya orat padu[ni] [devadharmo
yam prat padu[ni] — Ed.]

* See *Ind an Ant query* Vol XVII pp 309f and p 312

- 13 d vihara parihara vibhushit-angva | udbhāsito pi va(ba)hū kirtti vadhu patitve
yah sadhu sadhur ibi sadhu januh pi-asastah || Chuntijvaram samavata
rtta jana
- 14 sya drishtya Dhanvantar api hi yena hatah prabhavah | yas ch ūpsit-
artha paripurna manorathena lokēna kalpataru tulvataya grīhatah || Ten
utad a
- 15 tra kṛtam atma mano vad uchchari vajrasamasya bhavanam bhuvan ottamasya |
samjayate yad abhivikshya vīmanaganam Kālisa Mandar mahidhara
śringa sanka || Sarvva
- 16 sa opāyena sāt[ti]jva sahrīdam audāryam abhīyasyta samvo(mbo)dham viṇita
spriham saha gunā-viśuddhi vīryam tatha | ātrasthena nīje nījā iha
va(bri)hīti-jany adhikare
- 17 sthite jena sveta yaso dhvajena ghatitū vamsa (māsa)v Udichipathe || Sopāna
mārgam iha muktī-pūrasjya līritam etam(in) vidhaya kusalam yad upat-
tam ismat |
- 18 kṛtv ditah sa pitaram guru vargaṇa asya samvo(mbo)dham ēta jana risir
śśesha eva || Yavat kummo jaladhī valayina bhūta dhātīm vibibhāṣitū
dhvanta dhvānsi(māsi)
- 19 āpatī tapāno javad a ogra rasmiḥ | smgdhī alokaḥ śśira mahasa yamavat-
vas cha yavat tatāt kirttīr jayatu bhuvane Viradevāsya subhā ||

Translation

(L 1) Om Triumphant is that glorious chief of sages (Buddha) who with his excellent mind striving for the welfare of the beings found out the system of truth (and *vīśa*) to those whose nature is affliction (*as*) the one bridge for crossing the ocean of worldly existence (a *bridge*) the ends of which are difficult of approach for (*those*) alligators—evils!

(L 2) May the glorious (Buddha) who has his diamond throne by the Bodhi tree protect this whole universe!—he from whom the mind born (Mara) drew far aloof thinking as it were that if his betters had united been powerless to captivate the mind of (Buddha) why need I blush for failing in strength single-handed against the Lord of the three worlds!

(L 3) There is an excellent country known by the name of **Nagarahara**, the land of which is an ornament to **Uttarapatha** (the northern region) There in a family which had risen higher and higher, was born a twice born Indragiṭṭa by name a friend of the king

(L 4) As the moon with its spotless disc so shone that meritorious distinguished twice born united with his wife Rajj[e]ka of whom people make mention in the very first place when they ponder on tales of devotion to his bands

(L 5) So to them was born a son highly endowed with discernment who even as a child was filled with thoughts concerning the other world. He gave up his attachment to his home though it was blessed with every enjoyment in order that by going forth as an ascetic he might adopt the teaching of Sugata

(L 7) Having studied all the Vedas (*and*) reflected on the Sastras (*and*) having gone to the glorious great Kanushka vihara he then following the excellent teacher Sarvaśānti (*who was*) praiseworthy for his quiescence gave himself up to asceticism

(L 8) This Virādēva (*being*) thus the disciple of one who by his pure qualities had accumulated great fame (*and*) pleasing by the fame of corresponding qualities and natural disposition (*was*) always like the new moon in object of adoration even to sages inasmuch as his loveliness was free from the stain of the Kālāga

(L 9) To adore the diamond throne he then once visited the glorious Mahābōdhi From there he went to see the monks of his native country to the vihara, the glorious Yasovarampura.

(L 10) Then staying here for a long time he the quintessence of intelligence being treated with reverence by the lord of the earth the illustrious Devapala shone like the sun endowed with splendour filling the quarters with his daily rising (*and*) dispelling the spread of darkness

(L 11) He who (*being*) a friend (*dear*) like his own self being as it were the own son of the holy monk Sityalohita by the decree of the assembly of monks (*sangha*) was permanently appointed to govern Nalanda (*and*) by whom engaged in the vow of a *Samāra* there were erected for the welfare of the world these two holy *chaityas* clearly two crest-jewels in the diadem of Indrasaṅga;—

(L 12) And who on becoming the lord of the lady Great Fame graced though he already was here by Nalanda governed (*by and*) true (*to his and*) decorated by a ring of famous *vikāras* was well praised by good people as a good man,—

(L 13) Who by (*his mere*) sight allaying the fever of anxiety of people in distress verily eclipsed the power of even Dharmavīra and whom people whose wishes he fulfilled by (*granting to them*) the objects desired took to be equable to the tree of paradise —

(L 14) He erected here for the diamond throne the best thing in the world this habitation lofty like his own mind the sight of which causes those moving in celestial cars to suspect it to be a peak of the mountain Kailāsa or of Mandara

(L 15) Practising the generosity of those who are friends of the beings by offering up his all as well as manliness eagerly directed towards the attainment of perfect wisdom and vying with (*his other*) excellencies residing here while his high holy office was continuing he hoisted the banner of his fame on the two poles (*of his family*) in Uśāchīpatha (the northern region)

(L 17) Whatever merit has been acquired by the erection of this edifice (*which is*), as it were a staircase to the city of salvation may through that the whole assemblage of men, headed by the circle of his elders (*and*) including his parents, attain to perfect wisdom

(L 18) As long as the tortoise bears the ocean girded mother of all beings, as long as the sun with its fierce rays is shining dispelling the darkness, as long as the nights present a pleasing appearance with the cool splendoured (moon) —so long may the bright fame of Virādēva be triumphant in the world

The Nalanda copper-plate of Dēvapālādēva

(39th regnal year)

This copper plate was unearthed by me in 1931. I have already published it in the *Epigraphia Indica*¹ where I have fully discussed its contents. There is no need of recapitulation. But the text and translation of this very important document are given together with a synopsis to put the whole material in one place.

The seal is soldered to the plate and bears the legend *Śrī-Devapaladevasya* written below the *Dharmachakra* symbol.

The introductory portion of this and of the Mungir copper plate² grant inscription are identical. The latter grant is older by six years though both were issued by one and the same ruler from the same place viz *śrī Mudgagiri samavāsya śrīmaṇḍajayasharīdhavara* i.e. the victorious camp at Mudgagiri the modern Monghyr in Bihar.

In the present charter we are told that Devapaladeva at the request of the illustrious ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa named Balaputradeva, granted five villages four of which lay in the Rajagriha (Rajgir) and one in the Gaya *viśaya* (district) of the *śrī* Nagaraśhukta (Patna division) for the increase of merit or *punya*, for the comfort of the revered *brāhmins* of the four quarters for writing the *dharma-śāstras* or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep of the monastery which must have been built at Nalanda at the instance of the said king of Suvarṇadvīpa. The four villages granted in the Rajagriha *viśaya* were Nandivānaka, Manivastaka, Natika and Hastigramā and the one in the Gaya *viśaya* was called Palanaka. Some of these villages are mentioned in the seals also as I have remarked above. The formal part of the document ends with the date which is the 21st day of Kārttika the (regnal) Year 39 and is written after the orders of the royal donor demanding regular payment of all the revenues due for the purposes detailed in the grant.

The inscription on the reverse of the plate is specially interesting because it makes mention of the Śailendra kings of Java Sumatra and shows that there was an interconnection between India and the Indian Archipelago about the 9th century after Christ. Balavarman the *śatāh* of the grant was the overlord of *Vijayavāṇa-maṇḍala* which as the Khalimpur plate³ of Dharmapaladeva would show lay in the Pundravarḍanabhukta and was evidently a subordinate of the Pāṇi king. The account of the king of Suvarṇadvīpa is unfortunately very meagre and we are not in a position to say anything definite regarding his ancestry. What we make out from the record is that Balaputra the ruler of Java Sumatra who was a contemporary of Devapaladeva belonged to the Śailendra dynasty of kings who were Buddhist and must have held the island of Java under their sway about the eighth century of the Christian era. The Nalanda copper plate inscription clearly shows that. The Leyden grant would show that

¹ Vol. XVII pp. 118 ff and 111 ff. See also V. G. Majumdar *Nalanda Copper plate of Devapaladeva* (Monographs of the Varendra Research Society No. 1).

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV pp. 243 ff.

³ *Ind. An.* Vol. XXV pp. 253-58.

Maraviyavottungavarman was the overlord (*adhipati*) of Srivijaya and that about the end of the 10th century A. D. Sumatra was governed by the Sailendra dynasty to which king Maraviyavottungavarman belonged. That both Sumatra and Java were under the sway of the Sailendras about the ninth century we glean from the Nalanda copper plate inscription. From an inscription on the southern wall of the Tanjore temple we find that Rajendra Chola captured a king of Kadaram named Sangramaviyavottungavarman and seized his vehicles as well as his accumulated treasure. This king of Kadaram on the evidence of the Leyden grant must have been the successor of Maraviyavottungavarman the Sailendra king of Srivijaya. The Tanjore inscription further tells us that Rajendra Chola succeeded in conquering the kingdom of Srivijaya or Palembang. The Leyden plates tell us that he confirmed the grant made by his father Rajaraja for the monastery built by the Sailendra king Maraviyavottungavarman i.e. the predecessor of the very ruler whom he had imprisoned and dispossessed of heaps of treasure. Our copper plate for the first time introduces to history the Sailendra king Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa together with some of his relations and the *dalaka* namely Balavarman. The illustrious Maharaja Balaputradeva our inscription tells us was the overlord of Suvarnadvipa. His mother was Tara the daughter of a king Dharmasetu of the lunar race and the queen consort of the mighty king who was the son of the renowned ruler of Yavabhumi. The latter we are told was an ornament of the Sailendra dynasty and his name was conformable to the illustrious crusher or tormentor of his brave enemies. The name of the father of Balaputradeva is not given but the name of the grandfather is said to have been something like Sri Viri Varmathana meaning the illustrious destroyer of heroic foes. This would lead us to surmise that the name must have been one like Paramardha deva Satrujaya Arimuddana Arindama etc. but what it really was the inscription does not help us to determine. *Yavabhumi* and *Suvarnadwipa* are evidently identical with the Yavadvipa and the Suvarnadwipa islands spoken of in Sanskrit works like the *Ramayana*¹ and the *Kathasaritsagana*² and are unquestionably the modern Java and Sumatra. While speaking of Balaputradeva as the king of Suvarnadwipa and his grandfather as the ruler of Yavabhumi the author of our inscription apparently took both the islands as one political unit as he ought to have done for both the islands are such. The document makes it clear that Yavadvipa is Java proper and that Suvarnadwipa is properly Sumatra. Here it may be remarked that in the known documents the Sailendras or the rulers of Srivijaya are nowhere mentioned as the feudatories of the Chola or other Indian kings. Building convents or *viharas* in one's territory does not necessarily indicate titelage though it does show friendship or mutual regard. That the Sailendras founded monasteries in India at Nalanda or elsewhere certainly signifies their being fervent Buddhists. These *viharas* like the one founded at Bodhi Gaya by Meghavarma of Ceylon during the Gupta

¹ Book IV Chap. XL S. 36 and the Tolkas commentary on these verses. Here we find that Java is a remote antiquity so named a large principal city which comprised not less than seven or more states.

² Taranga 57 Ss. 90 14 13 c c.

epoch gave shelter to their own people as well as others. Devapaladeva was a staunch Buddhist. The endowment of a monastery built at the instance of or by the Javanese king at Nalanda cannot imply that the ruler of Java was a vassal of the king of Magadha. But the capture of the king of Kadaram by Rajendra Chola is significant and does indicate submission. It is not a mere boast. Close relationship must have existed between Coromandel and the Far East during earlier days. The part played by Tamalapat or Tamul is an important point for the sea-borne trade between India and the Archipelago associates Bengal with the Far East in ancient days. These Saikendras were staunch Buddhists to whom all the magnificent Buddhist buildings which we find in Central Java owe their origin. Now the question is whether they were emigrants from India or were indigenous people of Java Sumatra who embraced Buddhism in preference to Hinduism. The *Iupa* inscriptions of King Mula Varman from Koctai or East Borneo or other early epigraphical records from Champa (Cambodia or Indo China) would show that India has had a considerable share in the colonization of the Far East. The *Iupa* inscriptions inform us that the erection of the sacrificial posts on which they are engraved was due to the twice born priests or Brahmanas who had earned their ancient civilization and religion to Borneo as well as to Java and Sumatra and that on these priests King Mulavarman conferred rich grants of gold and land, a fact showing that as early as about 100 A. D. high caste Brahmanas migrated to the Far East and settled there. Fa Hien found Brahmanas settled in *Yc-jint* (Java or perhaps Sumatra). Sumatran civilization or culture seems to be of Hindu origin. Sumatra was probably the first of all the Archipelago to receive emigrants from India. The names like Chohya Pandiyya Meliyala by which some of the tribes that have settled in West Sumatra are known and the fact that emigrants from India are designated by the term Kelung or Kheng which is clearly derived from Kalunga would show that Southern India including the Telugu country had ample share in the colonization of the island or the Far East. The matrimonial alliance mentioned in the Nalanda charter which the father of Balaputradeva had with a mighty king of the lunar race would indicate that India might have been the original land of the Saikendras of Java Sumatra. The term *Saikendra* signifies the lord of mountains and is too general. No dynasty of this name is known to have existed in India. As I have stated in my previous paper the name of Malayaman which is an exact Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit word Saikendra meaning the lord of mountain or mountains is to be met with in some of the inscriptions discovered in the South Arcot and Salem districts of the Madras Presidency where it is applied to some chieftains who flourished about the 10th century A. D. Tamil literature however knows of the Malayamins who might be attributed to the 7th or 8th centuries A. D. These chiefs were called *Malududaiyar* or the rulers of Miadu a contracted form of *Malayamada* and they claimed connection with the Chedi family. But there is no data available to connect these people with the Saikendras. It is noteworthy that sometimes their names ended in *varmanan* as did the names of the Saikendras of Java Sumatra or of Srivijaya. In the Nalanda copper plate inscription

tion on the other hand the name of the Sailendra king ends in *deva*. The name Balaputra itself signifying young son is curious. This ending of *deva* occurs only in the prose and formal portion but not in the other or metrical portion which describes and eulogises these Sailendras. This would suggest that the suffix was left out because it did not form an integral part of the name and would have been replaced by *varman* a general suffix or surname of the ruling caste of the Kshatriyas. The name however is pure Sanskrit as is the name of Tara the mother of Balaputradeva or of Dharmasetu her father and would point to emigration from India. Had the names of the two ancestors of Balaputradeva that is to say his father and grandfather been given, we could be definite in the matter. The Sanskrit names might have been taken after conversion to Hinduism or rather Buddhism. Thus we see in the case of *Kundunga* his son *Asvavarman* and grandson *Mulavarman* of Borneo. But in none of the names of the Sailendras do we find any foreign sound i.e. non Indian which could suggest that they were the natives of the island originally and came into the fold of Buddhism afterwards.

The vague manner in which the inscription describes the rulers of the Far East or Sumatra Java without even naming the king of the lunar race would show that its author did not know much of them. He knew of Balaputradeva and his mother Tara as they were directly concerned—the *devata* was there to name them. As to the gift the villages Nandivanaka and Minivataka were situated in the Ajapura *naya* (subdivision) Natila in the Pipinka and Hastigram in the Achala *naya* of the Rajagraha *vishaya* and that Palamala was situated in the Kumudavuttra *vithi* a subdivision of the Gaya district. If similarity of sound can be depended on I would propose the following identifications to which proximity of Nalanda will lend a great support. The Ajapura *naya* or subdivision of the inscription may possibly be represented by the Ajapura village in the Ajai Hise Chaharam Manja in the Bihar Thana and the two villages Nandivanaka and Minivataka would be the Nedune or Nannun and Minmanwan village of these days which are included in the Bihar Thana. Pipinka I am inclined to identify with the Pilkh or Pilke Manza and the Natila village with the Nu Pokhar of to day both lying in the Silao Thana. Though I am unable to offer any identification for the ancient Achala yet I fancy the village Hasti or Hastigram of the grant might be the Hether Bigh village of the Bihar Thana if not the Hasti Pota of the Maner Police subdivision. The old village directory of the Gaya district does not give any name resembling the Kumudavuttra or the Palamala of our record.

In connection with these place names it is interesting to note that our document supplies one or two territorial terms which appear to be new. The term *devata* as I have remarked above is here used in the sense of *deva* of which *vishaya* was a subdivision. The word *mitra* which generally signifies a market road way or the like appears to have been used in this charter in the sense of a division smaller than *vishaya*. Similarly the term *naya* seems to imply a like

¹ *Asiatic Researches* of the Presidency of Bengal, Vol. XXVI (Patna District)

² *Large Directory of the Presidency of Bengal*, Vol. XXVII (Gaya District)

division The use of these terms would show that *Utkh* was divided into *maḍalas* which were subdivided into *vishayas* the latter being again portioned into *vithis* or *nayas*. It is noteworthy that our document employs the term *naya* in the case of Rajagriha *vishaya* and *vithi* in the case of Gaya *vishaya*. The former occurs regularly after (1) Ajapura (2) Pipurika and (3) Archala which lay in the district or *vishaya* of Rajagriha while the latter term is to be found in connection with the district or *vishaya* of Gaya only. This would indicate that in the two *vishayas* although very contiguous different subdivisions were made for revenue purposes. Rajagriha being subdivided into *nayas* and Gaya into *vithis*. Thus we can say that the villages Nandivanaka and Manivataka lay in the subdivision or *naya* of Ajapura. Nataka in the *naya* of Archala all these falling within the Rajagriha *vishaya*. The village of Palamaka on the other hand which belonged to the district or *vishaya* of Gaya lay in the subdivision of Kumudasutra i.e. Kumudasutra *vithi*. As remarked above some of these place-names occur in the legends on the seals of Nalanda.

Text

Obverse

- 1 Om s asti | Siddharthasva parārtha sūsthitā matē san margam-a[ḥ]bhyā|
- 2 syatas siddhis siddham anurtaram bhagavato tasya prajasa kanya
t[1'] yas-traidhātuka satva(tva) siddhi pūlavir ity ugra vīry odayaj jīva
- 4 nirvṛtam-asasat Sugatas sarvārthā bhum isvarah[111]*| Saubhagyan-dadhā-
- 5 d-antūm Śrīyas sapatnya Gopāth pātu bhavad vasundharayah [1']
- 6 drishtante sata kṛtām su rājā yasmā maddhaya Prithu Sagar adayo
py al huan [121]*| Vijitya jēn a jalādher vvasundharām(m) vimochita
- 7 mogha-paṅgraha ita | sa bashyam udbashpa vilochnan puna vaneshu v(b)a
ndhun dadrisur mmitangajah [131]*| Chalatsv ananteshu v(b)alashu yasya
visvambhara
- 8 ya mehtam rajoblah [1] pada pradāra śhamam antriksham(m) vihangama
nam suchuram v(b)ebhūva [141]*| Śastr artha bhaja chalato nusasya varnna
pratishthipaya
- 9 ta svadharmāt [1] su Dharmapaleṣa sūtena so bhut svargga stūtanam anināh
pitṛnam [1] [51]*| Achalair ivā jangamair yadyaur-vichuladbhīr dviradaik
kadarthyamāna |
- 10 nirupaplavam amv(b)aram prapede saranam nnu nibhena bhutadhatn [1] 61]*|
Kedare vidhan opayuktā payasun Ganga sametmv(b)udhau ! Gokarna-
idishu ch apy anushtin
- 11 tavat-mat rtheshu dharmvāh [1]*| bhṛtyanam sukham eva yasya saka
lan=uddhṛtya dūṣitan imam(m) [1] lukan sadhayatō nushanga janita sīd
dhah paratr-a
- 12 pa abhut [1] [71]*| Tais tair dig vijay avasana samaye samprcshitanam parash
satkarair upaniya khedam akhilam svam svam gatanam bhuvam(m) [1]*|
kṛtyam bhavayatam

- 13 yediyam iclutam jaiṣya nripanam abhūt s otkantham | ndayan divas chryta
vatam jai smanam iva || [8||~] **Śrī-Parav(b)alasya** dūhuta kṣutripatna
Ra-
- 14 **śhrakūṭa** talakasya | **Rannadevyah** penur-jagriḥ grihamedhin tena ||
[9||~] Dhuta tanur iyaṁ Lakṣmīḥ sakṣat kṣutur nu sarin kum ivam
pateḥ karttir-mu
- 15 itt-athava grāha devata [~] itī vidadhātī suchy chijia~ | vitarakavatiḥ prajñ
prakṛti gurubhū y sūddhantāṁ gauru akāśol udhāt || [10||] **Śhghv**
pra(pa)ṭavrat asau mu
- 16 kta ratnam samudra sūktir iva | **sri Devapaladevama** pūṣṇm vaktam sutam
asuta || [11||~] Nūnamlo pannaḥ vaciḥ sa ivatāḥ karṣa k i mūr(i) ch
yah cūṭatī śichau [~]
- 17 rajyam apa nripaplavam pituḥ V(B)udhisatva iva Saṅgataḥ palam || [12||~]
Bhramyadhīr vyaya kramena karibhāṣaṁ iva Vindhy tām uddama
plavam na v(b)ashpi pav
- 18 sō dṛishtah punar v(b)andhataḥ [~] Kāṇavo(mbo)jeshu cha yasya vajrayuḥ ~ |
bhur-dhīst-nyā rj aujasō hēṣha mūṣṭa hāḥ hēṣṭi ravid kintā chūa
prinitah || [13||~] Yah pūṣṇm Bal
- 19 na kṛtāḥ kṛtā yuge yeṇ agamaḥ Bhṛugavis tṛtaya prahitah prīva prama
yina Karmenī yo dīpate | v chchāmah kaḥiḥ Śrīka dīvīḥ gītā kalenī
lok anta
- 20 ram yena tyaga pāthas sa eva hi panay viprasītam unūhitah || [14||~] A
Gang agama malutat sapatna sunyam a ceti(oh) prāṭhita Dīśasī katu kirtēḥ
[~]urvam i Var m
- 21 mketanach cha Sindhō | Līkshmi kula bhāṣaṁ chā vo vo(bu)bhōj |
[15||~] Sa khalu Bhāgīratī patha pravarttam na nanavidhā nu v itaka san
padīta-ctā v(b)andha mīṭa [sa]
- 22 la sikhara siṁhi vibhramat nūṛatīśa ghaṇi ghaṇighaṇ ghata sy amayāṇa
vasarī lakṣmī samaravdhā(bdhā) sarīratī jaladagamaya sandeh t(d) uḥel m
aneka
- 23 nūṛapata prahīṭikart-apīamēya bayā vahinī khīra | hur ōkḥ ta dī dī dī usīṛta
dīgantarsatī Parameśvara seva samī yat aśeṣa Jamv(b)u dvi
- 24 pa bhupala padatī bhāṇi nūṛad avaneḥ **sri- Muḍgagurī** samavīṣṭa sūmāḥ jayā
skandavarat Pūṣṇm Saṅgata Parameśvarī Pūṣṇmabhāttarakā Mā
- 25 harajadhīrya **śrī-Dharmapaladeva** pad anudhyataḥ Pūṣṇm Saṅgataḥ Pūṣṇm
varah Parameśvatarako Mahārajadhīrajah sūmāḥ **Devapaladeval**
- 26 kusah | sū **Nagara-bhūktāu Rājagṛha-vishay-antahpati-Ajapura-naya-pratī**
baddha iva samī(b)addh avichchhūṇa tal opeta | **Nandīvanaka | Mani-**
- 27 vātaka | **Pūṣṇmāka-naya pratī(b)addha Natika | Aśhala-naya pratībaddha**
Ha[stī]-grama | Gaya-vishay antahpati Kumudasūtra-vitū pratībaddha
Palama---
- 28 ka grameshu | samūṣṇatam(t n) sarīvā iva Rājā Rūṇaka | Rājaputra |
Rājamīṭya | Mahakarttikritika | Mahāndandauvaka | Mahapratihara |
Maha

- 46 saha paityate || [17 ||*] Shashitma(m) varsha sashrasa s[1]aige modati bhu
midah | akshepta chi anumanta chi tany eva
47 mritke vaset || [18 ||*] Anya dattam dvi jatibhyo yata id laksha Yudhishtira |
maham mahil kirtana sreshtha da
48 nash el licyo nupalanai || [19 ||*] Asmat-kula kramam udarum uda[ha]jadbhir
anvaya cha lanam elam abhyamanomodaniyam | Lalshmyas tadit-sakra v(b)
udv(b)uda [uhani]
49 chalaye danai phalam para yasah paripalanam cha || [20 ||*] Iti l omid dal
m[1]u(b)u v(b)indu lolai sriyana muchantya manushya pivitam cha [1*] saka
lam |
50 dam n[1]k kirtun cha v(b)u[d*]dhva na hi purushah para kirttayo vidiprah ||
[21 ||*] Pakshina bhuya iva rajat para v(b)ala dalani sahyar mupakshah [1*]
51 lutyam sri V(B)alavarmma vidadhe dharmnadidhuc stum || [22 ||*] Asm in
dharmam namdhe dityam sri Devapaladevasya | vidadh sri l(B)ala
varmam Vyaghratahi mandal adhipati || [23 ||*]
52 Asid isesha tarapala vilola manih mula-man dvuti vi v(b)odhita padu padinah [1*]
Sailendra vamsa tilako Yava-bhumipalah sri Vira-Varimathan-
53 mugati abh dhivah || [24 ||*] Humya sthakshu kumudeshu mimalimshu
sankh endu lunka ti bineshu padin dadhina | mahesha dm mukha man
war lav(b)di a gtitah(r)
54 murti-eva vasya bhuvanau jgami krtih || [25 ||*] Bhu bhargu bhvati
mupasya yasya kopan m[1]l bini[1] h sala hindavan dvisham nro pi |
vakti noma |
55 ha hi paropaghata daksha jiyante jagati bhrisha(saj)u gata prakatih || [26 ||*]
Tasya bhav an raya paral rama sila sili rajendra manih sata dwilakt-anghri
56 jugmah | sunar Yudhishtira Parisara Bhmasena Kann Arjun arjita yasah
Samnigavarah || [27 ||*] Uddh tim anv(b)ira tal d padli | sei el vintya
yat seny avani rajah pa
57 talam pad uttham | karun anilena karun m sanakun(m) v[1]rmanar gandasthali
mada jalath samayunv(b)abhava | [1] [28 ||*] Akishna laksham ev
edam ablad bhuvina mandalum(m) |
58 kulan dasyidhi sy eva yad yasoblir anuratan(m) || [29 ||*] Paulom iva
Surollupasya vidita Sankalpyoner-iva Pritih Se lasut eva Manmathari
59 pot Lakshmar [1] tar r va | r qirh Roma kul anvayasya mahat di sri Dharma-
setoh² suta tasy blud avinibhujo gramahishi tu eva Tar-dh[1]ya
|| [30 ||*] Miy
60 jan iva kamadev[1]yavi Suddhodanasy utmajah Skando nandita deva vrinda
hridayah Sambhor Umayun iva | tasyin tasya narendri vrinda vinamat-
p d vrana
61 m[1]-sarah sarva orvipati gaurava kharvana chana | sri V(B)alaputro bhavati
|| [31*] Nalanda gaur vrinda hu v(b)idha manasi bhaktya chi Suddhodaner
v(b)u[d*]dhva | sala srit tarai ga taralam

(S a) m i a t e n i - w r o t a t - F d I

* [1] *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 1994, 89, 1037-1041.

^a χ^2 na mda nake la mambayi 1 ch 4 cecece —Erl

- 62 Lākṣmīn unān kṣhōbhanām | yas-tēn-ōnnata-sau[dha]-dhiāma-dhavalah sangh-
ātha mittia śivā nānā sarl-guna-bhukṣhu-sangha-vasatis tasyām(n) vīhārah
kūtah || [32 ||] Bhaktyā
- 63 tatra samasta-śātru-vantā-vardhaya-dīkṣhō-gurum kṛtvā śāsanam ālut-ādara-
tayā sampurnthya dūtair-asau | grāmām(n) pañcha vipañchit-ōpari-yath-
ōldēśā-
- 64 n-amān itunandh pitrō[r lō]ka hit-ōdayāya cha dadau Śrī Dēvapālam nri-
pam(n) || [33 ||] Yivat-sindhōh prav(b)andhah pithula Hara-patā-kṣhō-
bhut ingi cha (tangā) gurvīm
- 65 dhattī phumēdhal pratidinam-achalō hēlayā yāvach-muvīm | yāvach-ch=āst-
ōday ālri ravi tanu ga khui ōdghushta chūdamanī stas tāvat sat-kirttu-ēśhā
prabhava
- 66 bi jagatīm(n) sat kṛtyā vōpayanti || [34 ||]

Translation.¹

(Ll 36-33) In the śrī Nagera *bhukti*, at the villages falling within the district (*visaya*) of Rājagūha namely Nandivanāka and Manivātaka, which come within the territorial subdivision (*naya*) of Ajapma, together with the undivided lands connected therewith, Natakā which comes within the subdivision (*naya*) of Pilipmka and Hastagrāma which comes within the subdivision (*naya*) of Achalā and the village of Pālāmaka which comes under the subdivision (*vīhī*) of Kumudasūtra (or Kumudasum) that falls within the limits of the district (*visaya*) of Gayā, Dēvapālādēva, being in good health, issues commands to all the persons who have assembled here, the *Rājānāka*, the *Rājaputraka*, the *Rājāmātya*, the *Mahākāntikrīṭa*, the *Mahōddandanāyaka*, the *Mahāpattihāra*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahādarśasādhasādhanaka*, the *Mahākumārāmātya*, the *Pramāty*, the *Sarabhanga*, the *Rājasthānīya*, the *Uparika*, the *Vishajapati*, the *Dā-ōparādhika*, the *Chavōddhanaka*, the *Dānūla* the *Dānapāśika*, the *Saulhika*, the *Gaudika* the *Kvētrapāla*, the *Kōtapāla*, the *Khāvilarakha*, the *Tadāyuktaka*, the *Pinayuktaka*, the *Hastyaśvōshṭanaubalanvāpūritaka*, the *Kiśora-vada-va-gō mahābhayadhikṛita*, the *Dūtapaṣṭhanaka*, the *Samāganika* the *Ablutaramānaka*, the *Tanika* the *Tanupūritaka*, the *Odius* (men from Oussa),² the *Mālavas*, the *Khasas*, the *Kulikas*, the *Kannātas*, the *Hānas* the *Chātas* (or village officers), the *Bhātas* the servants and others dependent on his lotus feet, who are not named here and the residents the *Brahmanōttaras*, the village-elders, householders, the *prōgas*, the *Mēdas*, the *Andhiakas* down to the *Chandālas*

(Ll 33-37) "Be it known to you that the above mentioned villages, namely, the village of Nandivanaka, the village of Manivātaka, the village of Nankā, the village of Hasti (or Hastigrāma) and the village of Pālāmaka, together with the undivided lands attached to them, unbroken up to their boundaries grass and pasture-lands with their grounds, places, mango and *madhāka* (*Bassia Latifolia*) trees, with their water and dry lands, *uparikaras*, *daśāparādhas*,

¹ For lines 1-25 see *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXV pp. 257-258

² [Gaudas as correctly printed out by Majumdar—Ed.]

*śaivoddharana*s free from all troubles exempt from the entry of the *śūdras* village officers) and *bhātās* with all taxes due to the king's family or court, with nothing of these to be recovered according to the maxim of *bhūmichchikida* to last as long as the moon and the sun and the earth shall endure excluding the gifts to gods and the *Brahmanas* which were granted before and were enjoyed or are being enjoyed.

(Id. 37 42) are granted by us for the increase of the spiritual merit and glory of our parents and of ourselves—We being requested by the illustrious *Maharaja Balaputradeva*, the king of *Suvarnadwipa*, through a messenger I have caused to be built a monastery at *Nalinda*, granted by this edict toward the income for the blessed Lord Buddha the whole of all the leading virtues like the *prajnaparanamita* for the offerings oblations shelter garments alms beds the requisites of the sick like medicines etc. of the assembly of the venerable *bhikkhus* of the four quarters (*cakrasim*) the Bodhisattvas well versed in the *tantras* and the eight great holy penances (*i.e.* the *arya puṇyas*) for writing the *dharma sutras* or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery (when) damaged therefore this grant should be approved and preserved by all of you out of regard for the merit of protecting gifts of land and because in the confiscation of the same there is a fear of falling into the great hell and the like. The residents also should be obedient to the order on hearing it and should bring to the donees at the proper time the due revenues such as *bhaga* *lokalana* gold etc. **Samvat (year 39). Kārttika, day 21**

(LH 12-50) In pursuance thereof we the (following) verses (Nos 10-21) announcing duties (regarding grants)

(V 22) The illustrious **Balavarmman** who was the right hand of the king, as it were and who never depended on (others) help for crushing hostile forces, acted as messenger in this religious function.

(V 23) In this religious undertaking **Balavavarman**, the illustrious ruler of the **Vyaghrata** mandala acted as a messenger of the illustrious (Emperor) **Devaniladeva**.

(V 24) There was a king of Yavabhumu (or Java), who was the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty whose lotus feet bloomed by the lustre of the jewels in the row of trembling maidens on the heads of all the princes and who as his name showed was the illustrious tormenter of the brave forces (*vira-vira-mathana*)

(V 25) Its fame, incarnate as it were by setting its foot on the regions of (white) places in white water-lilies in lotus plants conches moon jasmine and snow and being incessantly sung in all the quarters pervaded the whole universe.

(V 26) At the time when that King frowned in anger the fortunes of the enemies also broke down simultaneously with their hearts. Indeed the crooked

Prayer and meditation is the arch of the universe and the Lord is the one who is the soul of the universe and the prayer is the soul of the universe.

*Viggo's last translation: a report of the Ball & a (n) talked the reveal be Conn
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[illegible]

ones in the world have got ways of moving which are very ingenious in striking others

(V 27) He had a son who possessed prudence prowess and good conduct whose two feet touched much with hundreds of driders of mighty kings (boxing lions). He was the foremost warrior in battle fields and his fame was equal to that earned by Yudhishtira Parasara Bhimasena Karna and Arjuna

(V 28) The multitude or the dust of the earth raised by the feet of his army moving in the field of battle was first blown up to the sky by the wind produced by the (moving) ears of the elephants and then slowly settled down on the earth (*agame*) by the ichor poured forth from the cheeks of the elephants

(V 29) By the continuous existence of whose fame the world was altogether without the diabolical fortnight just like the family of the lord of the *dasyus* (demons) was without the putrescence of Krishna

(V 30) As Paulomi was known to be (the wife of) the lord of the *Saras* (i.e. Indra) Priti the wife of the mountain (i.e. the daughter of the mountain Parvati) or the enemy of Cupid (i.e. Siva) and Lakshmi of the enemy of Mura (i.e. Vishnu) so Tara was the queen consort of that king and was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmaseva¹ of the lunar race and resembled Tara (the Buddhist goddess of this name) herself

(V 31) As the son of Sudhaholana (i.e. the Buddha) the conqueror of Kama kya was born of Maya and Slanda who delighted the heart of the host of gods was born of Uma by Siva so was born of her by that king the illustrious Bilaputra who was expert in catching the pride of all the rulers of the world and before whose foot-stool (the seat when his lotus feet rested) the groups of princes bowed

(V 32) With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda and through devotion to the son of Sudhaholana (the Buddha) and having realised that riches were fickle like the waves of a mountain stream he whose fame was like that of Sangharthamitra built there (at Nalanda) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings

(V 33) Having requested King Devapaladeva, who was the preceptor for maturing into widowhood the wives of all the enemies through envoys very respectfully and out of devotion and issuing a charter (*De*) granted these five villages whose purpose has been noticed above for the welfare of himself his parents and the world

(V 34) As long as there is the continuance of the ocean or the Ganges has her limbs (the currents of water) agitated by the extensive planted hair of Hara (Siva) as long as the immovable king of snakes (Sesha) lightly bears the heavy and extensive earth every day and as long as the Eastern (*Nidaga*) and Western (*Asita*) mountains have their crest jewels scattered by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun so long may this meritorious act setting up virtues over the world endure

This inscription was noticed by Cunningham in one of his well known reports under the heading Bas-relief of Ashta-Sakti and was subsequently edited by Dr Vogel with a facsimile in 1903-04.¹ The bas-relief which bears it must have originated from Nalanda evidently. Perhaps it was found along with the image of Vajrasvari in the collection at Kapatiya. Subsequently, it went to Benares and thence to Lucknow where it is now preserved in the Provincial Museum. The inscription reads as —

Om sū Nalanda sū Dharmarāṭṭe deṇṇa' jḥa[r*]jṇo ʾpaṇipḥiṭṭa Saṅga
kaṣṇa(Saṇviraṇaṣṇa) Daḥḥa(kṣha)kaṣṇa

(Pl. N. c)

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha (the Vajrasana of the inscription) and measures 9 3/4 x 17". The pedestal looks to be bronze. The inscription is written in Sanskrit verse in characters resembling those of the records of Devapaladeva noticed above. There are four lines of well engraved writing in it. Some of the letters are damaged. The record is not dated and does not ascribe itself to any king. It praises a monk named Manjusarvarman of the Sarvastivadin school and consists of two verses one of which is written in the *Sagdlaru* metre and the other in *Sardulavahritu*. It reads —

Line 1 Asid dhy un mil at mah suhur uchuta [tapo] di unadhiman udarah su Nalanda"
 X bhikshur yati jana talik di lshritiman

2. 517. 518. 1. *Majusvaramma namo* × × × *bhuvanē nityatīrte sad g u n a*
*namo*³ *alamvabha*-*stambha bhūta* *śrūta* *śrī* *ka* *m*

3 namamu yam vidhati | [14] Sreyo yam parayana dadhati Sarv istade-
padam satva(ttvā)nam=bhava duḥkha magna vapuṣham sarvavajraḥ ।

4 vaptaya [!]* ten asesha sur sur adhipa saro ratna prabha rāṅgita śrīmat pada-
nābhāmbu bhārasaṅgā kṛāṅgā ||

These verses tell us that the *Śhravira* *Mangustamāra* was a great *bhikṣu* of Nalanda who was a very pious abode of excellences and a *Sattastāvadhī*.

This inscription has already been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* where a detailed notice of its contents has been given. It is a record of some benefactions made by a monk named Vipulāsūmitra who came after the monk Asōkasūmitra who was the disciple's disciple of Mañtrasūmitra the most intelligent and religious disciple of Karunasūmitra. The latter according to this

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² [I am not a devotee of the — kot]

* [The following is a reproduction of the original text as it appears in the manuscript. —Ed.]

¹ [R nā sū nē r-ē-ha bhaṅga ṇ -k'd]

* Vol. XVI pp 94 f a 1 pl to

inscription (verse 2) was a great monk of Somapura who was burnt to death in a house which was set on fire by Bengal men that had moved there. Why that army came to Somapura, why did it burn the house or the monk, and whose army it was the inscription does not give any information. Apparently the army or the personage who left it was anti-Buddhist and the house where Karunasamitra resided was consigned to flames owing to some religious animosity.

The record mentions a few localities where some offerings and foundations were made but it does not give their whereabouts. Vipulasamitra, the record tells us, set up an image of the mother of the Tinas (i.e. Fuji) in the great temple of Khasapurna¹ performed wonderful masonry work in the monastery of Pitamala at Choyahat and set up an image of Dipankra Buddha in the city of Hansha. Pitamala is probably meant for Buddha if not for Avalokitesvara. The inscription further informs us that Vipulasamitra constructed a temple of Iram which beautified Salsahat, did a good deal of masonry work at Somapura, gave beautiful ornaments of gold to the Buddha and built a splendid monastery which was made over to the *Mittas* (i.e. the Mitta monks) and where an image of the Buddha was set up (it where the Lord of the three worlds used to live for getting his abode in the heavens).

The record is a *prasasti* which was composed by Karaka and Vasishtha who were very much liked by the people for their knowledge of *Tarka* and *Silpa*.

Text

- 1 *Om namo V(B) ddhitya || Asta svasty nam jayati sa bhagavan Sri Dharmachakra-
rah bhayad janana sutra in bhavo sthira vapur mahavim uttamayati || tatra
Srighana - sau amrita rasah samskhyat*
- 2 *v(b)uddhe pado tam dhyaad upamartayam bhagavata Jan jagat tami || [1*]
Srimat Somapuri v(b)[blu]va Karan samita nana vati Jarani id guna
sa pado hita sulh adhamad upi prati*
- 3 *nam || vo Vangha v(b)alam upetya dhamanishepu jvalaty daye samagnas
charan rayinda yugale V(B)uddhasy yito dhvan || [2*] Tasy ichchhendra
viti parchitasy-achita sneri lutteh sashyo bhishyati*
- 4 *sukrita ghritato v(b)uddhumon v(b)uddhumaton || Antiserit ity upari vidito mitra
vit mita nana satvay ithe svam udasim upaditsm utsahim yah || [3*]
Prasishvo py invishy isaty*
- 5 *m alabhamamni va gunam adhitah sunshakto jatir amrit salah samahhivat ||
Asolasamitio guna samudaye vasya indrye schasani ishtabhin prativasati
srmv(b)uddhe jana*
- 6 *m || [4] Tad ana cha Vipulasamita ity avirishd vipula samali kirtitah say jan
nanda lundah || amrita fuvitva kal bhish ish it-ashka doshah satatim upa
chita srih suklapa*
- 7 *Ishe sas va || [5*] Srimat-Khasapurna mahayitane piyathat mahushiva
vihitaya janani jnanam | vena bhrametr aviratam pratunas chatasrah
sattarshu parvam sumaprayati sma*

- 8 yas cha || [6^o] Choyandake yas-cha putamahasya viharikavam navakarmma chit
ram | Harsh abhuddhane cha pure jnasya Dipankarasya pratiman vadhatta
|| [7^o] Ashtau yas-cha mahabhaiyam jga
9 tam nirmulam unmulum Tariny bhavanam vyadhatta sukrti Salahrad alam
kr tim | smat Somapure chaturshu layanesht antar v(b)ahuh || an lajor vas
ch adhatta navina karmma jagitam
10 netr aika visrama bhuh || [8^o] Adatta hem abharanam vachtram v(B)uddhaya
v(b)odhau janatam vidhitam | ity adi punya kriyav asa kalam vas-iva dirgham
nayati sma tatra || [9^o] Kritva te
11 na viharika kritav it-damkarabhuta bhuvu mitul hyo dbhuta vajraya ta jayini
datt-eyam unmilati | jasyam vismrtatam nivas rasibhi sasta triloki patih
12 Suddhavasava nivasam arthu junata duhsañchhara prantaram || [10^o] Hartum Hareh
padan n ajani tatra tatra krtir jaya vasa(st)matu lntablashan bhuh |
tavach churam jayati ne
13 tra sudha sravanti yavat samridhanti na Manjurava pratga || [11^o] Tat tat
lntti vidhau sudha a dhur-iv mbhodhau samunmilam punyam vad bhuvan
antarala tulam patram pavitrata ma
14 ma | astu prastuta vastuvat karatale pasvanti visvai jna jati asma padu
sthitat trayagatani tat-praptaye tach churam || [12^o] Pakhi a silpa prasai ge
yan dhavato jagatah hridi | Kanaka
15 sri Vasishtho va prasasti vyakti karakau || [13^o]

A Buddha image inscription of the reign of Mahēndrapāla from Bihar-Sharif

(Pl XI d)

This inscription was discovered by me in May 1933. It is engraved on the pedestal of a stone image of the Buddha seated in the attitude of teaching. The image when I saw it was lying in a corner in the house of a dealer in antiquities who had recently got it from an old woman of Bihar Sharif. It was worshipped by the woman and was thickly besmeared with vermilion and ghee. The accompanying photograph will show that it is not well preserved. I understand that it has been secured for the Nalanda Museum where it is now preserved as a present from the owner.

The inscription does not mention Nalanda but is published here along with the epigraphs of Mahēndrapāla's reign found at Nalanda. It is dated and is a clear evidence of Magadha being under the rule of the Pratihara ruler in the beginning of his reign. The date is given in letter symbols, viz. the symbol for 4 standing for the regnal year and the symbol for 10 standing for the *tithi* of the month when the image was consecrated. In addition to the creed formula which is inscribed round the upper portion of the statue it gives —

L 1 [Om] Saravat 4 Chaitra such 10 sri Mahēndrapāladatta rajya Sundhava
nam

2 dīna()rti Kumarebhandro(dre)na devaddh(dh)armma[h*] pratip hi(j)ah

(Reading of the last two words in the first line and of the first two in the second is doubtful.)

Line 1 Arabhatha nishkramata yuja gham (or dhavam) (B)uddha sānu² puni-
tam su-nah sēvyam na-
2 ya māram-iva kuñjarah yady-asau dharmmavivay aparamattas³-charish-
va
3 ti prabhavishjati samsāram dukkhasvāntam karishyati¹

This inscription has already been published* and need not be noticed in detail here. It is now preserved in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The reading of the text is given below to facilitate reference. The Tailādhaka mentioned in this record must have been an important locality. It is noticed by Hsuan Tsang† and is mentioned in the *Annals Albari*. That more than one locality was called Kauśāmba need not be dilated upon here.

1 (Om) Śrīman Mahīpālādē-
 2 va-rajya samvat II
 3 Agrudāh(ō)ddhārē
 4 ta-ē(tasya) dēyadharmmā-yam pravara-
 5 Mā(Ma)hāyāna-yāyinaḥ para-
 6 m-ōpāśaka-srmat-Tailādha-
 7 hīya-jyāviśha-Kausāmv(bhī-
 8 vinirggatasya Haradatt-naptu
 9 hr Gurudatta-suta śrī-V(B)ālā
 10 dityasya yad=atra punyam ta-
 11 d-bhavatu sarva satva-rāśē a
 12 nūttara-jñān-āvāptaya it ||

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Inscriptions which are not historical

The inscriptions which hardly possess any historical value are several. The majority of them give only the creed formula which in some cases is engraved very neatly. As remarked above it is either written in Sanskrit or in Prakrit, the script being mediæval Nagari except in one or two cases where it is Gupta. These short records usually give the name of the person who set up the image on which they are incised. Sometimes they give the name of the teacher at whose instance the benefaction was made. In some cases *namtiyas* such as we find in the Brahmanical *tantra* works are also given. As remarked in the introduction to this chapter the most important inscriptions coming under this head are those which give the *nāḍana-sūtra* and then *vibhāṅga* or exposition in Sanskrit. The whole text and the *tila* have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*¹

List of unhistorical votive inscriptions

Serial No	Register No	Text
1	S III	Line 1 De[ya*]dham no va[m] Bhat[is] Mam[kya]sya yad=atra punyam tad-bhavatu ma[talpitṛ] pṛam ikha Line 2 samastā va(ba)ndhu varga pṛassarasya sarvva-satva (ttva)na cha (Pl X f)
2	S III	In 2 lines Line 1 (Om) Ye dharmma keta etc etc Line 2 (Om) yad atra punyam tad matapitṛpurvaṅgamaṅ pṛta(tva) sakala satvanam anuttara-jñāna(vaptaye)
3	S I A 78	Three lines giving the creed in Sanskrit
4	S I A No 81	Six lines giving the creed in Sanskrit
5	S I A 83	One line Devato(De)yam d[eva]lasya [Reading is De dha[r] mo yam Lovakay[a]—Ed]
6	S I A No 89	Creed in 4 lines (Sanskrit)
7	Do 90	Creed in 5 lines
8	S I A No 113	Front—one line De dharmo-yam paramopasaka śrī Namasya [Reading is A <i>egasya</i> —Ed] Back—one line—(Symbol) creed in Sanskrit
9	S I A No 123	Creed in five short lines
10	S I A No 232	[Om] creed in two lines and deva
11	S I A No 245 A	Creed in two lines partly broken

¹ Vol. XXI pp 197 ff and Plate For another brief inscription, cf. a small dated G. E. 197 *See Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIV*
pp 21 f

Serial No	Register No	Text
12	S I A No 382	Creed in one circular line with words <i>vāḍimaha</i> <i>raṇṇanah</i> and the mystic symbols <i>hr̥ḥ nah, om, hwi, hr̥ḥ lah</i> written within a circle
13	S I A No 304	Three short lines giving 1 Om Tarē tuttarē ture, svaha 2 Om Padmavata om Kuru 3 I ulh svaha yē dharma
14	S I A No 300	Creed in 4 lines
15	S I A No 306	Creed in four lines and <i>de[ya*]dharmaṇḍ=yaṃ Paddēkasya</i> ?
16	S I A No 314	[Om] and creed ¹ written incorrectly <i>Yē dharma hēṭum</i> , etc. and <i>Mahastriana</i> , etc
17	S I A No 321	Part of creed atō hy avad
18	S I A No 315	Creed in five lines partly damaged
19	S I A No 492	Creed in one circular line
20	S I A 1	Two lines giving <i>Vajradhātu om vajraha[r*]mm̐ hum</i> followed by the creed
21	S I A No 157	Creed in one line shaped like a horse-shoe
22	S I A No 98	Om and <i>Dēvadharmaṇḍ yaṃ Aśokaṣṭa</i> [Probably the reading is <i>the Śeṣasya</i> —Ed.]
23	S I A No 18	Creed and <i>Dēvadharmaṇḍ yaṃ Prabhakarāreṇrabōdhēh</i>
24	S I A No 4	Fragmentary, giving <i>Sakalasatva[ya]ṃ</i>
25	S I A No 212	Some three letters <i>Va[ṭṭ]a</i> ?
26	S I A No 211	Om and creed partly damaged
27	S I A No 487	Three lines first two giving the creed and the third <i>Dēvadharmaṇḍ=yaṃ paramopasaka-Mahavyasna</i> (See serial No 10 above)
28	S I A No 97 A	Creed in two lines
29	S I A No 91	Creed in one line written like a horse shoe
30	S I A No 99	Creed in three lines
31	S I No 318	Fragmentary, three lines first giving <i>yē dharma hēṭu</i> ² 2nd <i>dēdharmaṇḍ</i> 3rd <i>srīmanah</i>

Serial No	Register No	Text
32	S I A 57	Two short lines 1st reading <i>Isvadhamm-Gvafiml Savita</i> 2nd <i>rasya</i> [Probably we have to read <i>Savitaka(yam)</i> —Ed.]
33	S I A 19	Portions of the creed and <i>Dedhamo yam Pushyakasya</i> ? [Probably <i>Dia[ne]lasipi</i> —Ed.]
34	S I 497	Creed
35	S I 461	Part of the creed formula
36	S I 12	Creed in 4 lines
37	S I No 544	Creed in 3 lines
38	S I No 542	Creed
39	S I No 469	Two inscriptions one giving <i>sva</i> or <i>suva</i> <i>vu dhe tum hram krum svah</i> and the other <i>Śūśasya</i> . The first three letters of the first line are evidently to be taken with the second and the donor's name would be like <i>Suvviddha</i> or <i>Subuddhasila</i> . [The donor's name reads <i>stha Vu(Bu)ddhasilasipi</i> and the mantras read <i>om grā dhā svaha</i> —Ed.]
40	S I No 470	<i>Devadhammo yam Tikekasya</i>
41	S I No 496	Part of creed
42	S I No 417	Creed in two lines
43	S I No 546	Om and creed followed by <i>Dedhamo y[m*] Damōdarasya</i>
44	S I A 492	<i>De dhammo(rmo) yam Sramana singhasva</i> [I read <i>stha-Satyam glasya</i> —Ed.]
45	S I 424	Creed in three lines followed by <i>Devadhammo yam Prabhakara</i> <i>drupadabhi</i> as in S I A 8
46	S I 457	Om and creed and <i>Deva dhammō=yam arhari Andaguptasyah</i> (name not clear)
47	S I No 452	Part of creed
48	S I 418	Do
49	S I 450	Creed in three lines followed by <i>Devadhammo [yah(yam)] raja</i> [The name seems to be <i>Vaja</i> —Ed.]
50	S I 158	Creed in three lines
51	S I 395	Part of creed
52	S I 4	Do

Serial No	Register No	Text
53	S I No 16	Part of creed
54	S I 385	Creed in 5 lines
55	S I 386	Creed in two lines followed by h and devadharma ya[ni?] Sama kenah
56	S I 62	Part of creed
57	S I 387	Creed
58	S L 198	Creed in two lines
59	S J 191	Creed in 4 lines
60	S I 129	Corruptly written creed
61	S I 136	Part of creed
62	S I 149	Fragmentary giving part of creed and some ind distinct letters
63	S I 162	Creed in three lines
64	S I 186	Line 1 Devadharmaoyam Nam Line 2 na (or nama)rajasya [Reading is Vamorajasya —Ed]
65	S I No 220	Creed in three lines
66	S I 242	Creed in 2 short lines and Sindhara mantripalah
67	S I 304	Creed
68	S I 352	Parts of creed
69	S I A No 10	Creed
70	S I No 9	Creed in 1 line
71	S I 7	Do
72	S I 92	Creed in two lines
73	S I No 371	Creed
74	S I No 370	Creed partly broken
75	S I No 363	Parts of creed
76	S I No 363	D dharme-yam sthavira Navasimha ?) in one line [Reading is stha Vinayasingha —Ed]
77	S I No 501	One line broken at the beginning reading na Sakasya deva-dhar to nam [To me the reading appears to be—pasid asya Vadhu Su —Ed]

Serial No	Register No	Text
76	S I No 389	Om de-a-dhammo yam Karvaka ' [Reading seems to be <i>Kr. shu- tula</i> —Ed.]
79	S I No 202	Creed in 4 short lines followed by de dhammo yam Hirshiranta (Rishiranta) ' [probably <i>bhishiranta</i> (<i>bhishiranta</i>)—Ed.] Śr devasya
80	S I A. No 5	Creed followed by Line 4 Śrī Dhamma[bha]ta Śrī Datakanah Babuka Line 5 sutah de-dharmmo yam
81	S I No 459	One long line giving the creed below which is written Om Vayu hara maha
82	S I No 112	These give the creed formula either fully or only partially
83	S I No 69	
84	S I No 54	
85	S I No 193	
86	S I No 179	
87	S I No 171	
88	S I No 172	
89	S I No 173	
90	S I No 131	
91	S I No 165	
92	No 175	Two lines the 1st gives de-dhammo yam but the 2nd is not distinct
93	No 78	Two short lines scratched and indistinct giving the creed formula
94	No 44	One short line only giving Devadhammo yam
95	No 46	The creed formula
96	No 23	The creed formula in two lines
97	No 20	Parts of the creed formula
98	S IV No 20	
99	No 71	One short line giving a portion of the creed formula
100	No 79	Two short lines giving a portion of the creed formula

who dwells in Sukhavati or the world of the highest bliss. The Mahayana sect recognises Buddhas Bodhisattvas then attendant deities and demons and goes in for spacious temples and images and for pompous ceremonial and noisy festivals. It has the tendency to adore the supernatural which predominates in the minds of its adherents just as it does in the minds of the Hindus. As I have remarked elsewhere it is this tendency which found expression in the sculpture which the followers of Brahminism and Mahayanism produced and it is this tendency which caused a sort of coalition between them. Mahayanism seems to have flourished about the seventh century (A.D.) when Nalanda had reached the climax of its glory. It was at that period that it greatly influenced Hinduism. The influence was mutual for each had to borrow from the other. Some of the Brahmanical divinities were incorporated into the Buddhist or Mahayan pantheon and vice versa. At times Buddhism had royal supporters as was the case during the reign of Harshavardhana or of the Palas. This must have added to its importance and attracted the followers of the rival sect. The followers of the faith which became stronger would try to show that their deities are much more powerful than those of the other religion whose votaries will naturally be attracted to them and would start adoring them. The followers of the more successful faith would incorporate the deities of the other religion into their pantheon to make it comprehensive but give them a subordinate position. To satisfy the religious susceptibility of the votaries of the latter independent status will at times be given to their divinities. The principal gods or goddesses however will not get such a position but will be represented as subservient or vanquished by the *devotas* of the predominant sect. The three chief gods of the Hindu faith namely Brahma Vishnu and Siva are shown as being trampled *e.g.* by Marichi while Tara is represented in the *Sudhanas* as pressing both Rudra and Brahma between her two feet¹. The comparatively minor deities were given independent status also. For instance Ganesha who is trampled upon by Aparajita² gets an independent *dhyan*a for worship as well³. In this case he is practically identical with the Brahmanical god of that denomination his vehicle is the selfsame mouse his stomach is equally protuberant and so on. The Buddhist god Trailokyavijaya is shown with one foot placed on the head of Siva and the other on the breasts of Parvati. S. I. 224 (Pl. XII a). Similarly Vishnu becomes the vehicle of the Buddhist deity Hanumanavardhana and is trampled by Marichi. Sarasvati is a Brahmanical divinity originally. The *Paṇḍita* hymn shows it. But she figures in Mahayana as well both as an independent goddess and as a subordinate *yaśasvini* of Jambhala⁴. Tara as I have demonstrated in my *Memoir*⁵ was originally a Buddhist goddess but has been adopted by the Śākta worshippers of the Brahmanical faith. There she is the wife of Siva being only a form of Durga or Parvati. The Saptā Matrikas who are of Brahmanical origin have been brought

¹ *Sūdhanaśūtra* (Bharuārd) Vol. I p. 211 (1140) *Sudhana*

² *Sūdhanaśūtra* (Bharuārd) Vol. II p. 80:

³ *S. dhyanama* (1 vol. 10 c 1) Vol. II p. 192

⁴ *Sūdh. Sudhana* 101 (10)

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into the Buddhist fold and described as afraid of the Mahayana goddess *Mahapratihni* (*sapta matrahi-deratni santrasa karti*).¹ What their status is in the Hindu mythology need not be dilated upon here. The inscribed slate with their figures engraved on it which was found in Nalanda is now preserved in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. The inscription written on it has been noticed above. Ganga an important divinity in the Brahmaical pantheon figures only as a mere *nadi* or river in Mahayana without any special godhead. Thus we find in the *Sullankajatu sadhanam*. The solar deity of the Hindu religion who figures as a very important god both in the *Vedas* and in the *Puranas* merges into the Buddhist deity *Mahin* though his horses are replaced by pigs. *Brhima* does not figure independently in the Mahayana mythology and no image representing him has yet been unearthed at Nalanda. Even in Brahmaical temples his images are not to be found in abundance. We thus see that the chief Hindu gods or goddesses are represented as weaklings before the Buddhist or Mahayana deities who are described as trampling upon them. That one divinity should be represented as subordinate to another will be due to the *ananya bhiti* or exclusive devotion of a worshipper for whom there is no power or deity higher than his own *ishtadivata*. But to represent a god as pressed between the feet of another like a tooth-brill or lying under his feet is a clear indication of disrespect in which the Buddhists held the divinities of the Brahmaical faith. The followers of Brahmanism had to be told that their deities were powerless before the *divinites* of the Buddhist religion and need not be worshipped. The converts or sympathisers would not give up their beliefs all of a sudden and might worship their *ishtadivatas* if they liked. The new faith they were embracing also recognised them though it gave them a subordinate position. Some of them are given the status of a *Bodhisattva* which means that they can rise to the exalted position of a Buddha. This would satisfy the neophyte. But such ideas occur only in the beginning. Later on conscience starts to work and the votaries of each faith begin to think of the *oneness* of the Divine Essence which is the common object of worship and then their differences cease. The different divinities become the metamorphoses of one and the same God who appears in multifarious forms at will—*Āho ham bahu syam. I am sad vipriṇśa bahudhā vadanti*.

Mahayana resembles the latent forms of Hinduism. Evidently there was a good deal of borrowing at the beginning. Finally in India Mahayana was practically absorbed into the all-embracing Hinduism and Buddha himself became an incarnation of Vishnu.

In the commencement religious sects or faiths are usually free from various impurities. When personalities come in things begin to change. This happened in the case of Mahayana also. To the Mahayana Gautama Buddha is the sympathetic human teacher who moves about among his disciples expounding the *Dharma* but to a Mahayana he is a supernatural Being who is fond of pompous ceremonies. Things are all right at the outset but the lower man begins to work and vices begin to be tolerated and are even encouraged under

¹ *Sullankajatu*, Vol II, p. 30.

various pretents. Mahayana which like the Brahmanic Tantra system was a sublime cult in the beginning degenerated into the Vajrayana and the Sahajayana sects which were adopted by all sorts of people who were anxious to satisfy the lower appetites of human nature and followed the maxim of *yoga* and *bhoga*! The result was that a god in his *Yah yam* posture with his *sakti* hugging him closely became the object of greater adoration than in his ascetic form—god with his *akti* is easily propitiated! In the same way Śiva the great Yogi who remains calm and unperturbed in spite of the whole world moving round began to be worshipped in his amorous attitude caressing Parvati seated on his thigh as in the sculptures No S 4 63 and S III 191 excavated at Nalanda (Pl XII b). The earlier sculptures are not only more artistic in their execution but are free from this corrupt influence which was so baneful that it made the cult-images lifeless symbols void of spirituality and of anatomical definition. This is true not only in the case of Nalanda but in that of other sculptures as well.

In the Brahmanical images so far recovered from Nalanda we find the representations of Śiva and of his emblems of Vishnu (Pl XII c) Sankarshana Surya (Pl XII d) and his son Kṛvanta Ganesa Sarasvatī Chandikā (Pl XII e) and of Ganga. The fragment of a stone slab (S III 210) showing the lower body of a richly clad lady and of a child with the emblem of Śiva on the left side also seems to be Brahmanical. The four armed standing Parvati (S I 722) with the Phallus on the right side and the crescent on the left side of her head is also Brahmanical and requires a casual notice. Some of them are in stone and the rest are made of bronze. For reasons stated above one might as well call them Buddhist. Their *dhyānas* as given in Brahmanical works are well known and need not be reproduced here. Whether Sankarshana figure is a divinity in the Buddhist *Sūtrās* or not and what his *dhyāna* or *dhāraṇī* as given there is I am not aware but his image according to the *Bhāttobhāṣanīya* quoted in the *Tattvamañjari* (I 33) should be like that of Vasudeva or Krishna. The body should be white and clad in blue attire. In the place of the mace a pestle (*Sṛt musula*) should be shown and a plough should be put in place of the discus.

Vasudeva varuṇena karyah Sankarshanah prabhuh | sa tu sukla vapuh karyo
mukhavaśa Yadittamah | gada sthane cha musalam cakras thane cha
baḡalam ||

The *dhyāna* of Vasudeva as given there is —

Vasudevas sitas santas sit abja sthas chaturbhujah || yoga murdh or
dhva sankhas cha dāśa śrangadharas smṛitah || Dhṛayad uttara
chakram dāśaśunī cha gadam iti

They call him Sankarshana because of his *garbha sankarshanat*! Sankarshana or Halavudha was the elder brother of Krishna. He is the personification of Śakra naga the great serpent long on whom Vishnu sleeps in the Kṣurasaagara or ocean of milk with Lalitā pressing his feet.

The other noteworthy statuette in this collection is the one which is marked 2065. It is made of bronze and represents a Naga seated with right leg hanging below the *padma* ana. He has a canopy of seven serpent hoods over his head. I am inclined to take it to be a Nāgarjuna figure like the highly artistic stone

image with the inscription of Bhāṣṭa Mīmāṃsā (Pl. V f) noticed in the chapter on Inscriptions. This image was described by me in my annual report long ago and is reproduced here for the sake of comparison (Pl. XII f). These two images do not bear any label and their identification is a matter of conjecture. But to call them more Naga figures seems to have no meaning. Besides why should such figures be set up as *devadharmas* in the company of images which are entirely Buddhist? Buddhists will not adore Nagas along with the mighty deities of their own faith. The rosette and the Naga at the back would suggest that they represent Nāgajñāna the deified saint of Jyote. Nālandā was one of the principal seats of the Mahāyāna sect and Nāgajñāna was the master of Mahāyāna. We have to remember the tradition which connects Nāgajñāna with Nālandā where he is said to have obtained the extraordinarily long life of three hundred years through the grace of the primordial Buddha Amitāyus though he was destined to live only seven days. It is interesting to observe here that a somewhat similar Naga figure was noticed by me in the temple of Chāndīdevī at Bhāradvāja in the Central Provinces and that tradition connects Nāgajñāna with those parts of India as well.

As to the Buddhist sculptures excavated from Nālandā they are in stucco or clay, stone or bronze. The stucco figures round the huge *stūpa* site III are in my opinion late medieval in origin. They were intact when opened but later on began to disintegrate and stand in need of careful preservation. Regarding the images in stone some of the important ones have already been mentioned or described above including the interesting panels of the site II called Pāthargāthī (Pl. I c d). Of these the earliest piece is the remarkable decorative fragment which has already been mentioned. Of the rest Buddha figures on the drum of a miniature *stūpa* with a long inscription of the reign of Dharmapāladēva seem to be the earliest. The figures carved on the miniature *stūpa* which bears the inscription of the reign of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla represent some of the life scenes of Gautama Buddha. The large sized image of Avalokiteśvara or Padmapāni (No. 1407) and the somewhat similar image marked S. 8. 15 (Pl. XII g) are remarkable for their facial expression and skilful modelling. In the former three Buddhas are shown on the top of the halo and Amitāyus surmounts his head. He is flanked by his *ālī* T. 1 drawn in diminutive form to show his superiority. In the latter a diminutive male stands under the right hand extended in the *varā mudrā*. The lotus staff with *padma* is held in the left hand in both the figures. The image of Vajrapāni (S. III. 179) is complete but not finished. The head of a Bodhisattva in red sandstone is a very lifelike piece. The stone figures representing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in different attitudes placed in well cut ornamental niches which were recovered from site III and are marked 52, 78, 80 and 8 require a casual notice. The crowned Buddha sitting in the *bhūmiśpārśva mudrā* in an ornamental niche surmounted by a *kirtimukha* under three Buddha figures is another noteworthy piece. It is marked S. III. 227. The central figure at the top represents Buddha in teaching attitude. On his right side a Buddha in *ālīpā mudrā* is standing. On the left side Buddha standing in *varā mudrā* is represented. The

are all shown as placed in well carved small niches. The principal figure looks more like a Bodhisattva than a Buddha on account of the crown and the neck lace and other ornaments. The small figure representing Manjuvara sitting in the *pariyanka* attitude with lotus under his left arm pit is an interesting illustration of his *dhyana*. The image of Arapachana (S I 620) is similarly notable. The small statue marked (S I A 97) (Pl XII h) which I excavated from S I A is a nice complete piece representing Buddha at the time of Enlightenment. The hosts of Mara are shown below the Vajrasana. The top is occupied by the Mahajamuna image over which a small *stupa* is placed. On the sides of the head the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Maitreya are shown standing. On each side Buddha sits in European fashion preaching the Law. On the left side he is also shown in meditation. The standing crowned Buddha who is smiling and clad in *sanghati* (S I 707) is also noteworthy though the right hand and the feet are broken. The smiling figure (S III 13 15 17 and 19) which probably represents Maitreya standing on a lotus with his right hand extended in *vara mudra* and wearing broad *bandhas* is well executed and noteworthy. The statuette representing Yamantaka standing on a buffalo and having the creed formula written at the back is a very remarkable representation in that it is full of energy and passion (Pl XIII a S I A 113). This interesting complete piece I recovered from the monastery—site called S I A adjoining the main st. The miniature temple or *clatamika* with a spire showing standing Buddha in different postures placed in niches though fragmentary is noteworthy for it is not impossible that the *dhara* is intended to represent the spire of the Bodhi temple at Gaya (S I 60). The Pralokya-vijaya the gift of Udayabhadra has already been noticed under Inscriptions (Pl XI g S I 224). S 4 111 seems to represent the two chief Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Maitreya in adoration seated under the lotus seat of Buddha in *bhūmisparika mudra*. The figure No S 7 1 represents Samhanada Munusri and the figure numbered S 9 46 three headed Vajrasana. Number S I 620 is probably Avalokita Lokesvara. Number S I 641 is probably Kubera seated amongst his worshippers. The male figure (S I 152) requires mention (Pl XIII b) for the subject of it is not clear. The inscription on the back which is the well known creed formula would indicate that it is Buddhist and might represent the Buddha in meditation seated cross legged on a *padma*. The back with an ornamental border apparently stands for the aura though its shape would show that the sculptor did not understand its significance. In fact this is the case with the majority of later sculptures which are stereotyped symbols only. The Nagari letters *u* and *a(I)* written on the right and the left side of the image would show that it is Tatar. Among the female figures in stone the one marked S III 114 (Pl XIII c) is very remarkable for the dignified facial expression and the realistic way in which it is worked. First I took it to be Kotisi but the *Sadhana* would show that she is Mahasirevati although her form is not of twelve years—(*diadasa varā alrita*). According to her *dhyana* she has a smiling countenance and is extremely compassionate. The four dignities shown round her and the right hand extended in *vara mudra* are present as her *lakshas* though the

left hand which must have carried the white lotus with a stalk is missing. The Vajratarī (?) (S III 654) image though fragmentary is noteworthy for the skilful way in which it has been chiselled. Her fiend head dress and austere face are well executed. The figures numbered S I 469 and 1499 (Pl XIII d) might stand for Vasudhārā (?) though the ears of corn are not there. The right hand stretched in *vara mudrā* and the vessel (of jewels) in the left hand as well as under her seat would suggest that. The four armed goddess sitting under a canopy of five hoods of serpent in the Tilāsa stātude her right foot resting on a lotus flower is an interesting piece and in good preservation (Pl XIII e). Her right upper hand holds a sword the right lower hand a ball or lemon the left upper hand has an *arkha* and the left lower a noose. The lotus seat on which she sits is ornate (S 9 201). She wears various jewels and her hair is dressed like a reversed bowl. The facial expression is remarkably serene. The four armed demoness (S III 211) with dwarfish lower body sitting on a lotus her lower right hand holding a sword and the left lower hand shown in *tarjani mudrā* is also noteworthy for the awe-inspiring expression in which she is shown. The bust of a female standing in a playful posture (S I 238) is depicted like some of the railing figures from Mathura which are preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The string figures (S 12 27) carved on bricks are full of vigour and remarkable for their realistic expression—the figure to the left shows that the person is actually running in the air. Images of clay, whether baked or not must have been wrought from moulds. They were found in large numbers and some of them possess great artistic merit. Probably they were all meant for votive offerings as I have remarked above. The figures they bear usually represent either the Buddha or the Bodhisattva Mañjārī or Avalokiteśvara or Śīpa or Stūpas. Sometimes a form of Tara also occurs on them. Some of these *śīpas* are complete with festoons and *chhatravālis* (see Pl I b). The Kirtimukha in terracotta (S I 143) is also noteworthy.

A large haul of bronzes has been made during the excavations of Nālandā. The best pieces in them belong to the time of the Pala supremacy or rather to the reigns of the Pala kings—Dharmapala and Devapala which extended over more than a century from about A.D. 780 to 892 and were marked by great intellectual and artistic activity. Two artists of that age namely, Dhīman and Vitapala acquired the highest fame for their skill as painters and sculptors and bronze founders. One of the inscriptions of the time of Dharmapala recovered during these explorations and noticed above lays great stress on a sculpture having been made by the *śilpīs* of Nālandā itself—*āratyāśa śilpibhīḥ*—and mentions their names as well. Nālandā must have had its own workshops in those times otherwise such statements would be meaningless.

I may observe here in passing that striking resemblance is to be seen in the bronze images found at Nālandā and in Java in the 11th and 12th centuries. The same resemblance is noticeable in the bronzes found at Kurluh and the old site of Śrāvastī. Apart from the details of the form of these images which is very similar the back of many of them shows a common feature which is that a small piece with the creel formula engraved thereon in Nagari characters is

soldiered to it. I am reproducing an image found in Java for comparison (Pl. XIII f). This similarity, however striking though it is, does not mean that all the bronze images of the Buddhist cult which have been recovered from Nalanda and other places were brought from Java as offerings. On the contrary, it testifies to the Indian influence on the sculptural art of the Archipelago. That Java is indebted to Indian civilization does not require any demonstration now. Several eminent scholars have shown this and I need not dilate upon it here. To think that all these bronze images found in hundreds, some even bearing the names of the pious Indian donors were brought from Java will be only an irrational assumption. Some of the bronzes recovered from Nalanda are real master pieces which will stand comparison with any work of great artistic skill. The standing Buddha (S I 232) is a model of perfection in metallurgy. (Pl. XIII g). The dignified serenity of the face, the proportion in modelling and the realistic aspect of the figure leave nothing wanting on the part of the artist who made it. The Buddha figures are realistic as they had to be for the Buddha was a real human being. That is the reason why in his representations we do not see much of what is supernatural and what arouses 'a feeling of repulsion' in the mind of the critics of the 'realistic school'. The artist we have to remember had to follow certain canonical injunctions in working out the images no doubt and he sometimes had to hush in the supernatural. Some of the images are not so good and I am leaving them out to avoid cumbersome details. The Bodhisattva Maitreya, pensive over the miseries of the mortal world (S I 475) though late in origin is quite realistic and worthy of attention. The Bodhisattva figures of Padmapani (S 8 67) with Amitabha on the head of Avalokitesvara of 18 armed Tara (S 4 115 Pl. XIII h) of Haridravivjra (S 9 109) of Kubera (S 4 103 and S 1 A 59) of Mañjuśrī (S I 320) and other divinities noticed in the foregoing pages are useful in connection with the study of the *Sādhanas* for illustrating the *dhyanas*. The bronze *stūpas* (S I 608 S I A. 161, 193 174) will illustrate the care with which the artist worked them. But some of the most remarkable pieces in this lot are the *hand* (S I 343) and the *foot* (S I 337) of a statue which has not yet been found. If a conjecture can be hazarded the carver (or hewn of plenty) (S I 530) the sculptures (S I 526 529) and the leg of a throne showing a capital surmounted by an elephant overpowered by a lion (S I 314) are connected with that statue. The cup or an *amalaka* (2106) may be a decorative piece or connected with some colossal image. The flat ornamental piece with various designs and the two feet of a figure which must have surmounted it is a noteworthy object of decoration. The claw (2100) belongs to some image which is not forthcoming. The censers (S 4 109) (75) are interesting objects of worship. The design of their handles is noteworthy. One shows the mouth of a monster from which a lotus stalk emanates and the other is shaped like a snake coming out of a lotus.

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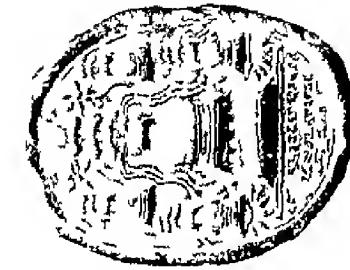
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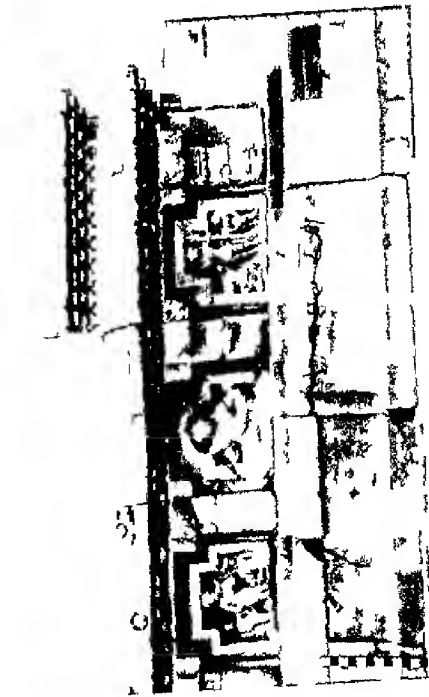
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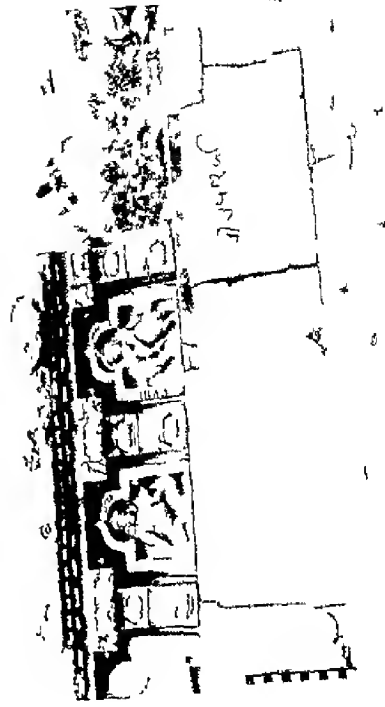
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1 2



T II



b



b





(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



(h)



(i)



(k)



a



b



c



d



e



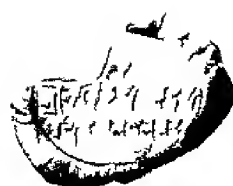
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af
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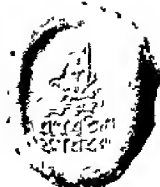
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(a)



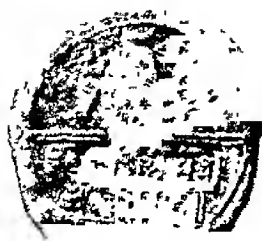
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(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



(h)



(i)



(j)



(k)



(l)

(a-k) Impure reds
(l) reds of all colors



a



b



c



f



d

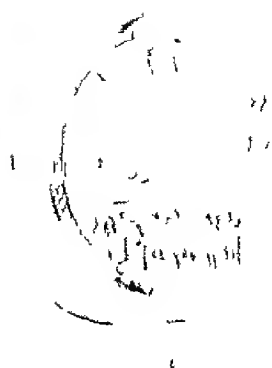


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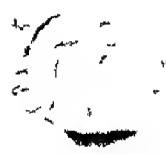
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(d)



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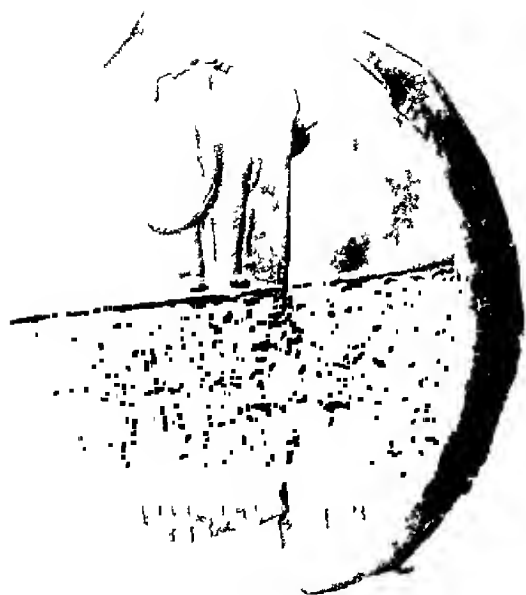
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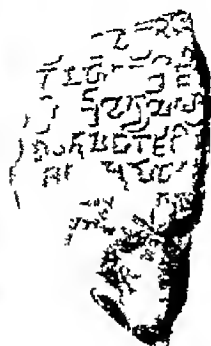
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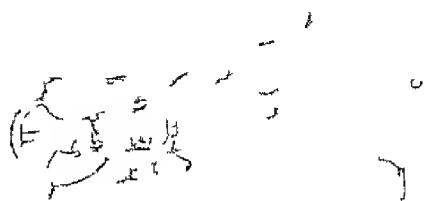
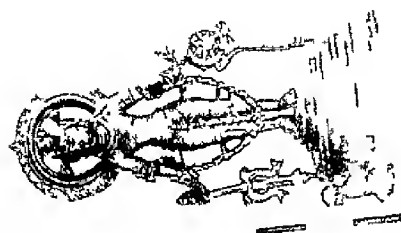
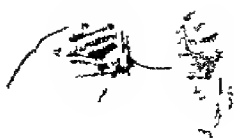
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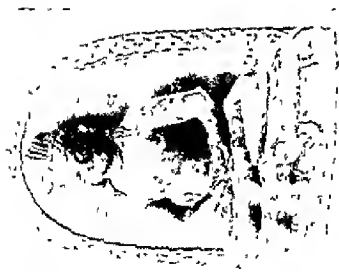


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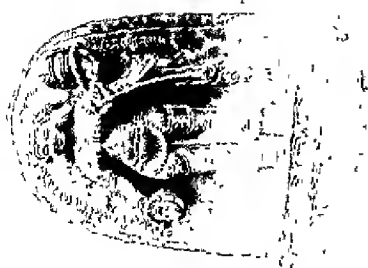
(d) Yonak (d)



(b) Buddha in Elho (b)



(c) Matigues (c)



(d) Vond (d)



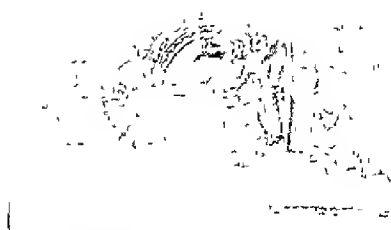
(e) Unkumard (e)



(f) Tux (f)



(g) Gleding (g)



(h) Tux (h)

